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DIARY IN AMERICA,

WITH
REMARKS ON ITS INSTITUTIONS.

Part Second.

Fredrick BY
CAPT. MARRYAT, C.B.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. III.

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CHAPTER I.

CANADA.

OF what advantage are the Canadas to England?

2 This question has been put to me, at least one hundred times since my return from America. It is argued that the Canadas produce and export nothing except timber, and that the protecting duty given to Canada timber is not only very severely felt by the mother-country, but very injurious to her foreign relations. These observations are undeniable; and I admit that, as a mere colony compelled to add to the wealth of England, (sending to her all her produce, and receiving from her all her supplies), Canada has been worth less than nothing. But, admitting this for the present, we will now

examine whether there are no other grounds for the retention of the Canadas under our control.

Colonies are of value to the mother-country in two ways. The first is already mentioned, and in that way, the present advantage of the Canadas as colonies is abandoned. The other great importance of colonies is, that they may be considered as outports, as stepping-stones, as it were, over the whole world; and for the present I shall examine into the value of these possessions merely in this point of view. We have many islands or colonies under our subjection which are in themselves not only valueless, but, moreover, extremely expensive to us; and if every colony or island is to be valued merely according to the produce and advantage derived from it by the mother-country, we must abandon Heligoland, Ascension, St. Helena, Malta, and, even Gibraltar itself. All these, and some others, are, in point of commerce, valueless;

yet they add much to the security of the country and to our dominion of the seas. This will be admitted, and we must therefore now examine how far the Canadas may be considered as valuable under this second point of view.

I have already shewn that the ambition for territory is one of the diseases, if I may use the term, of the American people. On that point they are insatiable, and that they covet the Canadas is undeniable. Let us inquire into the reasons why the Americans are so anxious to possess the Canadas.

There are many. In the first place, they do not like to have a people subjected to a monarchical form of government as their neighbours; they do not like that security of person and property, and a just administration of the law, should be found in a thinly-peopled province, while they cannot obtain those advantages under their own institutions. It is a reproach to them. They continually taunt the Canadians that they are the only portion of the New

World who have not thrown off the yoke—the only portion who are not yet free ; and this taunt has not been without its effect upon the unthinking portion of the community. What is the cause of this unusual sympathy ? The question is already answered.

Another important reason which the Americans have for the possession of the Canadas is, that they are the means of easy retaliation on the part of England in case of aggression. They render them weak and assailable in case of war. Had they possession of the Canadas, and our other provinces, the United States would be almost invulnerable. As it is, they become defenceless to the north, and are moreover exposed to the attack of all the tribes of Indians concentrated on the western frontier. Indeed, they never will consider their territory as complete “in a ring fence,” as long as we have possession of the mouths of the St. Lawrence. They wish to be able to boast of an inland navigation from nearly the Equator to the Pole—from the entrance of the Mississippi to the exit of the St. Lawrence. Our

possession of the Canadas is a check to their pride and ambition, which are both as boundless as the territory which they covet.

But there are other reasons equally important. It is their anxiety to become a manufacturing as well as a producing nation. Their object is, that the north should manufacture what the south produces; and that, instead of commercial relations with England, as at present, that American cotton-manufactures should be borne in American bottoms over all the world. This they consider is the great ultimatum to be arrived at, and they look forward to it as the source of immense wealth and increased security to the Union, and of their wresting from England the sceptre and dominion of the seas.

It may be said that the United States, if they want to become a manufacturing nation, have *now* the power; but such is not the case. Until they can completely shut out English manufactures, they have not. The price of labour is

too dear. Should they increase the tariff, or duty, upon English goods, the Canadas and our other provinces will render their efforts useless, as we have a line of coast of upwards of 2,000 miles, by which we can introduce English goods to any amount by smuggling, and which it is impossible for the Americans to guard against ; and as the West fills up, this importation of English goods would every year increase. As long, therefore, as we hold the Canadas, the Americans must be content to be a very inferior manufacturing nation to ourselves ; and it may be added that *now* or *never* is the time for the Americans to possess themselves of the Canadas. They perceive this ; for when once the Western States gain the preponderance in wealth and power, which they will in a few years, the cause of the Eastern, or manufacturing States will be lost. The Western States will not quarrel with England on account of the Eastern, but will import our goods direct in

exchange for their produce. They themselves cannot manufacture and they will go to market where they can purchase cheapest.

But do the views of the Americans extend no further? Would they be satisfied if they obtained the Canadas? Most assuredly not. They are too vast in their ideas—too ambitious in their views. If Canada fell, Nova Scotia would fall, and they would obtain what they most covet—the harbour of Halifax. New Brunswick would fall, and they would have then driven us out of our Continental possessions. Would they stop then? No; they never would stop until they had driven the English to the other side of the Atlantic. Newfoundland and its fisheries would be their next prey; for it, as well as our other possessions, would then be defenceless. They would not leave us the West-Indies, although useless to them. Such is their object and their earnest desire—an increase of territory and power for themselves, and the humiliation of England. The very eagerness with which

the Americans bring up this question on purpose that they may disavow their wishes, is one of the strongest proofs of their anxiety to blind us on the subject; but they will never lose sight of it; and if they thought they had any chance of success, there is no expense which they would not cheerfully incur, no war into which they would not enter. Let not the English be deceived by their asseverations. What I have now asserted is *the fact*. The same spirit which has actuated them in dispossessing the Indians of territories which they cannot themselves populate, which prompted the "high-handed theft" of the Texas from Mexico, will induce them to adopt any pretext, as soon as they think they have a chance, to seize upon the Canadas and our other transatlantic possessions.

If what I have stated be correct, and I am convinced of its truth myself, it will be evident that the Canadas, independent of every other consideration, become a *most important outpost* which we must defend and hold possession of.

Let it be remembered that every loss to us, is an increase to the power of America—an increase to her security and to her maritime strength; that whatever her assertions may be, she is deadly hostile to us, from the very circumstance that she considers that we prevent her aggrandizement and prosperity. America can only rise to the zenith, which she would attain, by the fall of England, and every disaster to this country is to her a source of exultation. That there are many Americans of a contrary opinion I grant; that the city of New York would prefer the present amicable relations is certain; but I have here expressed the feelings of the *majority*, and it must be remembered that in America it is the majority who decide all questions.

To prove that I am not too severe upon the Americans in the above remarks, let me refer to their own printed documents.

The reader must be informed that the Canadian rebels, with their American auxiliaries,

made incursions into our territory near the boundary line, burnt the houses, took away the cattle, and left destitute those parties who were considered as loyal and well affected, or, in fact, those who refused to arm and join the rebels. When pursued by the militia, or other forces, the rebel parties hastened over the boundary-line, where they were secure under the American protection. This system of protection naturally irritated the loyal Canadians, who threatened to cross the boundary and attack the Americans in return. It was, however, only a *threat*, never being put in execution; but upon the strength of this threat, application was made to the Governor in the State of Vermont, requesting that the arms in the American arsenals might be supplied to the citizens for their protection. The Governor very properly refused, and issued a proclamation warning the citizens of Vermont not to interfere. This offended the *majority*, who forthwith called a meeting at St. Albans, the results of which

were ordered to be printed and circulated. I have a copy of these reports and resolutions, from which I shall now give some extracts. Let it be observed that these are not the resolutions of a few lawless and undisciplined people, bordering on the lakes, as the sympathizers are stated to have been. The title of Honorable denotes that the parties are either Members of the State or Federal Governments; and, indeed, the parties whose names appear on the committee, are all of the first respectability in the State.

“Meeting of the Freemen at St. Albans.

“Agreeable to a notice circulated throughout the county, about forty-eight hours previous to the meeting, two thousand of the freemen from the different towns in the county assembled to take into consideration a recent proclamation of the Governor, and an extraordinary letter accompanying the same, and also to express their sentiments on Canadian affairs, especially such as have recently transpired in the neighbourhood of latitude forty-five degrees.

“Jeptha Bradley, Esq., of St. Albans, was called to the chair, and, agreeable to a resolve of the meeting, appointed the *Hon.* S. S. Brown, *Hon.* Timothy Foster, and G. W. Kendall, Esq., a committee to nominate officers.

“The following gentlemen were nominated and appointed :—

Hon. Austin Fuller, of Enosburgh, *President.*

Vice Presidents.

Col. S. B. Hazeltine, . Bakersfield.

Hon. Horace Eaton, . Enosburgh.

Doctor I. S. Webster, . Berkshire.

William Green, Esq., . Sheldon.

Martin Wires, Esq., . Cambridge.

Hon. Timothy Foster, . Swanton.

Secretaries.

J. J. Beardsley, . . . Sheldon.

Zoroaster Fisk, . . . Swanton.

“The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to prepare a report and resolutions for the meeting :—

Henry Adams, Esq., . St. Albans.

N. L. Whittemore, Esq., Swanton.

R. A. Shattuck, Esq., . Sheldon.

Bradley Barlow, Esq., . Fairfield.

I. B. Bowdish, Esq., . Swanton.

“The letter of certain citizens of Burlington, and the proclamation of his Excellency, Silas H. Jennison, were then read by the Secretary, J. J. Beardsley, Esq. After the reading of the letter and the proclamation the meeting was addressed by several gentlemen, in an eloquent and impressive manner, and their remarks severally called forth great applause.

“The committee, on resolutions by Henry Adams, Esq., chairman, then presented the following report and resolutions, which were *unanimously adopted.*”

After having in the report stated that threats have been made, they then attack the legality of the Governor's proclamation and conduct, as follows:—

“The committee have no evidence to show

that the execution of the threats above-mentioned, or that any invasion of the rights of American citizens, would knowingly be permitted by the existing government in Canada, or approved of by a majority of the citizens in the Canadian townships; but when they bear in mind, that civil law is suspended in Canada, and in its place are substituted the summary proceedings of military courts and the capricious wills of petty military officers; when they consider the excited and embittered feelings which prevail along the frontier, and which some have studied to inflame, and also the character of a portion of the population which borders upon our territory, they deem it not improbable that acts of violence might be attempted, and even that a gang of marauders might be gathered together, and led to make some petty invasion into our territory, disturbing the public peace, and committing acts of outrage. If this be deemed improbable, still a state of suspense and doubt is not to be endured. Every family on

the frontier should live in a state of undisturbed repose. The ability not only to resist aggression, but to redress injuries with summary justice, furnishes a certain, if not the only guarantee of perfect quiet.

“ With these views, at recent meetings of the people, a committee was appointed to wait upon the Governor and request the use of a part of the arms in the State arsenal. This request has been denied; and the reason assigned by his Excellency is, that he has doubts whether by law he can loan out the arms of the State to be used by the people of the State for their own defence. Without commenting on the technicalities which so much embarrass his Excellency, or inquiring into the wisdom of that construction of the law which infers, that because the State arms *are to be kept fit for use*, therefore *they are not to be used*, the committee would beg leave respectfully to suggest to the people that, inasmuch as they are to receive no aid from the

State, it is their duty at once to arm themselves, and to rely upon themselves.

“ While the governor has thus declined furnishing any aid for the security of the frontier, he has issued a proclamation enjoining upon the citizens of this State the observance of a strict neutrality between the hostile parties in Canada. The propriety of our Governor’s issuing a proclamation on an occasion like the present, merely advisory, may well be questioned. It neither creates any new obligations, nor adds force to those already resting on our citizens. When it is considered that our relations with foreign powers are solely confided to the general government, and that if the people of this State should boldly break the obligations of neutrality, the governor of the State has no power to restrain or to punish, it must be admitted, that a proclamation of neutrality issuing from our State executive seems to be over-stepping the proprieties of the office, and should be exercised,

if at all, only in case of a general and glaring violation of the laws of nations ; and even then it may reasonably be questioned whether the ordinary process of law would not be sufficient, and whether gratuitous advice to the people on the one hand, and gratuitous interference with the exclusive functions of the general government on the other, would become pertinent by being stamped with the official Seal of State. We are not aware of any express authority in our constitution or laws for the exercise of this novel mode of addressing the people ; and it can only be justified on the ground, that the chief magistrate has something of fact or doctrine of importance to communicate, of which the people are supposed to be ignorant. In neither point of view is there any thing striking in this otherwise extraordinary document.

“ No facts are set forth before unknown to the public, except that a representation has been made to his Excellency that ‘ *hostile forces had been organised within this State,*’ of which

organization our citizens are *profoundly ignorant*.

“ To the doctrine of this proclamation,—that the declaration of martial law, by Lord Gosford, changes the relations between the United States and Canada, we cannot assent. Our relations with Great Britain and her colonies rest upon treaties, and the general law of nations, which, it is believed, her Majesty’s Governor in Chief of Lower Canada can neither enlarge nor restrict.

“ To assume that our citizens are ignorant of their rights and obligations as members of a neutral independent power, is to take for granted that they have forgotten the repeated infractions of those rights which have so often agitated our country since the adoption of Federal Constitution, which led to the late war with Great Britain, and which have given rise to claims of indemnity that are still due from various powers of Europe. Every page of the history of our country portrays violations of her neutral rights

by the despotic and haughty powers of Europe, among whom *England has ever been foremost*. Your committee do not deem it necessary to enlarge upon this subject."

After the report came the resolutions, a portion of which I subjoin:—

"Resolved—That the safety of the people is the supreme law, and we recommend to our citizens to arm themselves for the maintenance of this law.

"Resolved—That the proclamation of martial law in Canada, and placing arms in the hands of people unaccustomed to their use, hostile to our institutions, and heated by intestine dissensions, have a direct tendency to disturb the peace of our citizens, and demands the immediate interference of the general government.

"Resolved—That our government ought to take immediate measures to obtain redress for the injuries and insults perpetrated on our citizens by the people of Canada.

"Resolved—That as friends of human liberty

and human rights, we cannot restrain the expression of our sympathy, when we behold an *oppressed and heroic people unfurl the banner of freedom.*

“Resolved—That we hope that time will soon come when the bayonet shall fail to sustain the *last relic of royalty* which now lingers on the western continent.

“Resolved—That we concur in the opinions which have been fully and freely expressed in the British parliament by eminent *English statesmen*; that ‘in the ordinary course of things, Canada must soon be separated from the mother country.’

“Resolved—That it is the duty of every independent American to aid in every possible manner, consistent with our laws, the exertions of the patriots in Lower Canada, against the *tyranny, oppression, and misrule of a despotic government.*”

CHAPTER II.

THE next question to be considered is, whether, independent of their being important to us as an out-post to defend our transatlantic possessions, the Canadas are likely to be useful to us, as a colony, in a commercial point of view. This requires much consideration.

It must be admitted that, up to the present, we may consider the Canadas to have been a heavy burden to this country. From what I am now going to state, there are many, who agreeing with me in most other points, will be likely to dissent. That I cannot help ; I may be in error, but, at all events, I shall not be in error from a too hasty decision.

That it is wise and proper for a mother-country to assist and support her colonies in their infancy

is undoubted. In so doing, the mother-country taxes herself for the advantages to be hereafter derived from the colony ; but it may occur that the tax imposed upon the people of the mother-country may be too onerous, at the same time that no advantages at all commensurate are derived from the colony. When such is the case, the tax is not fair ; and the colony for whose benefit that tax has been imposed, is looked upon with ill-will. This is the precise situation of the Canadas, and this is the cause why there is so strong an outcry against our retaining possession of these provinces.

The bonus of forty-five shillings on a load of timber, which is given to the Canadas by our present duties, is much too great ; and has pressed much too heavily on the people of the mother-country. It has, in fact, created a monopoly ; and when it is considered how important and necessary an article timber is in this country, —how this enormous bonus on Canadian timber affects the shipping, house-building, and agricul-

tural interests—it is no wonder that people wish to get rid of the Canadas and the tax at one and the same time. It is also injurious to us in our commercial relations with the northern countries, who refuse our manufactures because we have laid so heavy a duty upon their produce. This tax for the benefit of the Canadian produce was put on during the war, without any intention that it should remain permanent: and I think I shall be able satisfactorily to establish, that, not only is it unjust towards our own people, but that, instead of benefiting, it will be, now that the Canadas are fast increasing in population, an injury to the Canadas themselves.

Up to the present period, timber has been the only article of export from Canada: we certainly have had the advantage of a large carrying trade, and the employment of many thousand tons of shipping; but, with this exception, the timber trade has been injurious, not only to the mother-country, but to the colony itself, as it has prevented her real prosperity, which must ever

depend upon the culture of the land and the increase of population. The first point to which the attention of a colony should be directed, is its own support, the competence and supply of all the necessaries of life to its inhabitants ; it is not until after this object has been obtained, that it must direct its attention to the gain which may accrue from any surplus produce. In what way has the timber trade benefited the Canadas ? Has it thrown any wealth into the provinces ? most certainly not ; the timber has been cut down, either by those Canadians who would have been much better employed in tilling the land, for every acre cleared is real wealth ; or by Americans who have come over to cut down the timber and have returned to their own country to spend the money. That the profits of the timber trade have been great is certain ; but have these profits remained in the Canadas ?—have the sums realized been expended there ?—no ; they have been realized in, or brought over to England, shared among a few persons of influence who have, to a

certain degree, obtained a monopoly by the bonus granted, but the Canadas have benefited little or none, and the mother-country has received serious injury. That the parties connected with the Canada timber trade will deny this, and endeavour to ridicule my arguments, I am aware ; and that they are an influential party I well know ; but I trust, before I have concluded, to prove to every disinterested person, that I am correct in my view of the case, and that the prosperity of the Canadas is a very different question from the prosperity of the Canadian timber merchants, or even the proprietors on the Ottawa.

When the protecting duty was first imposed, there was no idea of its being a permanent duty : it was intended as an encouragement for ships to go to Canada for timber, when it could not be got in the Baltic. It was, in fact, a war measure, which should have been removed upon the return to peace. The reason why it was not, is, the plea brought forward, that the taking

off the protecting duty would be a serious loss to the emigrant settler, who would have no means of disposing of his timber after he had felled it, and that the emigrant looked to his timber as his first profits ; moreover, that it gave employment to the emigrants in the long winters. That those who have never been in the country were led away by this assertion I can easily imagine, but I must say that a more barefaced falsehood were never uttered. There are varieties of emigrants, and those with capital speculate in timber as well as other articles ; but let us examine into the proceedings of the emigrant settler, that is, the man who purchases an allotment and commences as a farmer—for this is the party to whom the supposed philanthropy was to extend. He builds his cottage and clears two or three acres, that is, he fells the trees ; as soon as he has done this, if the weather permit, he burns them where they lie, the branches and smaller limbs being collected round the trunks as fuel to consume them. This he is compelled to do, for the land

having been so long smothered by the want of air and sunshine, arising from the denseness of the forest, has a degree of *acidity* in it, which the alkali of the wood ashes are required to correct, previous to his obtaining a crop. I do not believe that a settler ever sold a tree when he was clearing, although, if water-carriage was convenient, he may afterwards, when he was in competent circumstances, have done so. Having raised his crop from the first year's clearing, what is his employment during the winter,—cutting down timber on the Ottawa for the English market? no; cutting down timber on his own property as fast as he can, so as to have it ready for burning in the early spring, and having a crop off this, his second clearing. And so he continues, with full employment on his own farm, until he has cleared sufficient for the growing of his corn and the pasture for his cattle. When he has become independent and comfortable, and has a few thousand dollars to spare, then he will erect a

saw-mill, and work up his own trees into lumber for sale, but by that time he must be considered as a rich man for a settler. The *timber* trade, therefore, is hurtful to the Canadas, in so much as it prevents them from clearing land and becoming independent people, who by other means would become so. The timber which is cut down for exportation, is chiefly from the forests on or near the Ottawa rivers, and the emigrant settler has neither interest or concern in it.

It may be argued that, as settlers do, as soon as they are in better circumstances, erect saw-mills, and work up their trees into *lumber*, that it would be unfair to deprive them of that advantage. I will grant that ; but the fact is, that you will not do so ; for of the quantity of timber and lumber exported from the Canadas, it is only one-half which is sent to the British market, the other half is divided between the West-Indies, the United States, and their own consumption ; and the demand of the United

States will so rapidly increase, that, in a few years, the Canadians will care little for sending their timber to England, even if the present duty were kept on. I consider that this bounty upon cutting timber is very injurious to the American provinces, as it distracts their attention from the real source of wealth, which must consist in clearing the country; for, to show how great a difference this makes to them, it must be observed, that a farm which was only worth two dollars an acre when the settler first came to it, will, as soon as others have cleared around him, rise to twenty or thirty dollars per acre. Every man, therefore, who settles and clears land, not only benefits himself, but increases the value of the property of all those around him; while the feller of timber on the Ottawa only puts a few dollars into his own pocket, and does no good to the province, as the timber-dealers in England reap all the harvest.

It would appear very strange that the ship-

owners should have joined the Canadian timber-merchants in persuading the government to continue these duties, were it not from the fact, that the ship-owners appear, invariably, to oppose any measure advantageous to their own interests. That the carrying trade to the Canadas is of importance is certain; but of how much more importance to the ship-owner is the reduction of expense in building his ship, which must ensue if the timber duties were reduced. The ship-owner complains that he cannot sail his ship at as low a rate as foreigners; that he must be protected, or that he cannot compete with them in any way; and yet he opposes the very measure which would materially assist him in so doing. But the fact is, that, as I shall eventually show, the carrying trade with Canada would not be lost, though the cargo would not be the same; and there is every reason to suppose that the employment of the shipping would very soon amount to the same tonnage as at present.

The next consideration is, to what should the duty be reduced, so as not to affect our revenue? This is a question easily answered.

In the Report on Timber Duties, Appendix No. 10, we have, in round numbers, for the year 1833 :—

Timber exported from		
Canada and American		
provinces, calculated	Loads.	Duty paid.
in loads	719,000 ...	£300,000
Timber from the north		
of Europe, in ditto ...	444,000 ...	985,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,163,000 ...	1,285,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Now it is certain that, wherever the timber may come from, the same quantity will be required; we have, therefore, to fix a duty upon timber coming from all parts of the world, by which the revenue will not suffer. A duty of 25s. per load will give, upon the whole importation, a revenue of £1,453,000, not only an in-

crease of revenue upon the timber at present imported ; but there is every reason to suppose that it would occasion a much greater consumption of timber, and of course a great increase of revenue. I do not consider that it would be advisable to make this reduction immediately. There is a large tonnage employed in the Canada trade, which might as well wear out in it ; and it would be but fair to allow those who have embarked their capital in the trade, to have time to withdraw it. As the Canadas are not yet prepared to send other produce to the market, we can, with great propriety, confer this boon upon the present timber trade. The reduction of the duty should be gradual, and extended over ten years, at which period the final reduction to 25s. per load should take place ; by which time, if Canada be cherished, she will have other produce for the market.

The more I consider the question, the more I am convinced that this alteration would be a benefit to all parties. We then should be able

to build ships at a moderate price ; we should have a fall in house-rent ; and, indeed, it would be of advantage to every class in this country ; and, however interested people may argue, the removal of this protecting duty would be the greatest boon and kindness which we could confer on our transatlantic possessions.

Let us now inquire what are likely to be the future prospects and produce of the Canadas as the population increases, and the resources of the country will be developed.

Lower Canada is a sterile country ; not that the land is in itself bad, but from the severity and length of the winters. The climate of Lower Canada is precisely the same as that of Russia, and so might be its produce. The winters are tedious, but not unhealthy, as they are dry. The summers, like all the summers in the northern regions, although short, are excessively hot. It is owing to this excessive heat of the summer that the maize, or Indian corn, which will not ripen in this country, can be grown in

Lower Canada, and it is the principal corn which is raised. The French Canadians who inhabit Lower Canada are but indifferent and careless farmers, yet still they contrive to live in apparent comfort : but the question is not whether the inhabitants of Lower Canada can support themselves, but whether they are likely to be able to produce anything which might become an article of export to England. I should say yes : they may produce *tar* and *hemp*, two very important articles, and for which we are almost wholly dependent upon Russia. Tar they can most assuredly produce ; and, with the same climate as Russia, why not hemp ? Hemp will grow in any climate, and almost in any soil, except very stiff clay, and I consider the soil of Lower Canada admirably adapted to it. Up to the present time the French Canadians have merely vegetated, but as the country fills up, and they gradually amalgamate with the other settlers, there is no doubt that they will rapidly improve.

Upper Canada has been, and is still, but little known. At the close of the war, there was not a population of 40,000 upon the whole province: even now there is but 400,000 upon a territory capable of receiving and supporting many millions. It is, without exception, the most favoured spot in North America, having all the fertility of the Southern and Western States, without being subject to the many and fatal diseases which are a drawback upon the latter. Although so far north, its climate is peculiarly mild, from its being so wholly surrounded with water, which has the effect of softening down both the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer. It abounds with the most splendid timber; is well watered; the land is of the richest quality; the produce is very great, and the crops are almost certain. I particularly notice this as I consider Upper Canada to be the finest *corn country* in the world:

At present the resources of the Canadas are unknown; the country has not been explored; it

is without capital, and I may add without credit, but its prospects are very favourable. The timber trade to England will in a few years, even allowing the present bonus to be continued, be of little advantage to Upper Canada; they will find a much better market as the Western States fill up, as then there will be a great demand for lumber, which will be obtained cheaper from Canada than from any portion of the United States. Even now lumber is sent over from Upper Canada to those portions of the United States bordering on the lakes. I have pointed out the want of timber in the Western States, that is, of timber fit for building; they have some in the State of Wisconsin, which will soon be absorbed, and then the Canada timber and lumber will be in demand, and I have no doubt that there will be a very extensive exportation of it.

The next article of produce to which the Canadians should direct their attention is the fisheries on the lake, which may be carried on to

any extent and with great profit. The trout and white fish, both very superior to the Newfoundland cod, are to be taken with the greatest ease, and in vast quantities. I have mentioned that the Americans have already commenced this fishery, and the demand is rapidly increasing. As the West fills up, the supply would hardly keep pace with the demand; besides that it would also be an article of exportation to this country.

There are millions and millions of acres to the north and about Lake Superior, fit for little else than the increase of the animals whose furs we obtain, and which will probably never be brought into cultivation; yet these lands are rich in one point, which is, that the maple-tree grows there, and any quantity of sugar may be collected from it, as soon as the population is thick enough to spare hands for its collection. A maple-tree, carefully tapped, will yield for forty years, and give six or seven pounds of sugar, fully equal to the best East-India pro-

duce, and refining well. A few tons are collected at present, but it may become a large article of export.

The United States appear to be rich in most metals, but particularly in lead and iron ;* the

* The following description of the iron mines at Marmora are worthy the attention of the reader. It is from the engineer who was sent to survey them.

“ To Isaac Fraser, Esq.

“ The water power at Marmora, and its sufficiency for all hydraulic purposes, may be better imagined than explained to you by me, from the fact, that the falls occur upon the Crow River, at the foot of untold lakes falling into Crow Lake, the deepest inland lake in the province, and just below the junction of the Beaver River, which latter has its source in the Ottawa or Grand River, or the waters flowing parallel therewith, and by the outlet at the Marmora Falls : these head waters, on the confluence with the waters of the Otonabee, and Rice Lake in Crow Bay, six miles below the works, form the great River Trent, second in importance and magnitude only to the St. Lawrence. It is sufficient for me to add, that I deem the water power at the works abundantly equal to all the purposes of machinery and manufacture, which can for centuries be established there.

“ Immediately adjoining the works there is an ore bed, from the partial development of which, and from the opinions I have received of its superior quality, it would appear to be of the purest kind of iron ore, except na-

metal which they are most deficient in is copper.

It is said that the copper mines in New Jersey

tive iron, in the same veins with which is an admixture of red paint and yellow ochre, and in separate veins and beds at this locality, those paints occur in some quantities, several barrels of which, especially the red paint, Mr. Hayes disposed of at 25s. per barrel, at the works, and it seems probable they would become profitable articles of commerce. Here also there is a bed of purely white marble, not seemingly stratified, but in large blocks; and a quarry of superior stone for lithographic purposes, the quality of which has been tested and reported favourably upon. This ore bed would be from its situation within any wall constructed for the custody of the convicts, but from the great jumble of mineral substances, which the careless opening of those veins has occasioned, it is not possible to hazard an opinion as to the probable extent of minerals here, but from, if I may judge by appearances and from geological analogy, the few acres surrounding, it is probable they are sufficiently extensive to be an object of consideration—several hundred tons of ore have already been taken out for the furnaces. There is at this place a well-built bridge and a wharf at which the ore brought from the lake ore beds is landed, and from thence carted or wheeled up to the ore bank.

“ At a distance of four miles by water, that is at the Crow Lake, in the township of Belmont, Newcastle District, the principal ore bed occurs. I may confine my observations respecting this ore bed to the qualities and

are good ; those in the West have not yet proved to be worth working. Canada, as I have before

varieties of the ores to be found there, and of the extent of the deposit give you an idea, by fancying my feelings when I first saw the mountain. My surprise was great, and *my first conclusion was, that it would be more than sufficient to supply the world with iron for ever.* The ore here is in great variety of magnetic ore, easily quarried ; and, in fact, it can be quarried, loaded, and transported to the works, roasted on the ore bank, broken up into particles, and put upon the furnace, at an expense not exceeding 2s. 6d. per ton ; as I observed it is strongly magnetic, and although mixed considerably with sulphur, it is easily freed from that deleterious mineral by exposure to the atmosphere, and to the action of air and frost, and by this species of evaporation, a new and valuable commodity could be procured in great quantities, namely, the copperas of commerce.

“ With a boat of 50 tons burthen—and there is depth of water enough for a 74 gun ship from the wharf at the works to this mountain of ore—navigated by four men, 150 tons of ore could be brought down in two days—so readily is it quarried, and so handily put on board. Intermediate to this bed and the works, several other deposits of iron are discovered—one of a superior quality, surpassing in magnetic power any other ore yet discovered, possessing what mineralogists call polarity ;—and near to this, meadow and bog ore, not a mile distant from the works, is to be found in great quantities. The works are to the north-north-east and eastward,

said, is as yet unexplored, but I have every reason to believe that it will be found rich in minerals, especially copper. I argue, first, from its analogy with Russia, which abounds in that metal; and secondly, because there is at this time, on the shores of Lake Superior, a mass of native copper weighing many tons, a specimen of which I have had in my hand. We must not forget to reckon, among the other products and expected resources of Canada, the furs obtained by the Hudson Bay Company. Of course, if the Canadas are wrested from us, we shall have to depend upon the Americans for our supply of this necessary article. The value in Canada of the furs exported to this country, by the company, amounts, as I have observed in

surrounded by beds of ore, of which five have been tried and brought into use—but as they are inland, and consequently more expensively procured, they merit but this passing observation, that in quantity and quality they are valuable.

“ For the present I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ ————— *Engineer.*”

my Diary, to about a million and a half of dollars.

I now come to what I consider will be the most important export from the Canadas. I have stated it to be my opinion that Upper Canada will be the first corn country in the world, and in a very few years we may expect that she will export largely into this country; already having had a surplus which has been sold to the Americans. It must be recollected that America, who used to supply the West-Indies and other parts of the world with her flour, has, for these last few years, in her mania for speculating, neglected her crops, and it is only during these last two years that she has re-directed her attention to the tillage of her land. She will now no longer require assistance from Upper Canada, and the yearly increasing corn-produce of that province must find a market elsewhere. After supplying the wants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, this surplus will find its way into this country. As the popula-

tion of Upper Canada increases, so will of course her growth of wheat be greater, and in a very few years, we have reason to expect that there will be not only a constant, but even a more than requisite, exportation of corn to this country. Now what will be the effect? Corn from Canada is admitted at a fixed duty of 5*s.* per quarter, therefore as soon as the supply from thence is sufficient, the corn laws will be *virtually* repealed, that is to say, they will be exchanged for a permanent duty of 5*s.* per quarter.

I think that the remarks I have made will incline the reader to agree with me, that the reduction of the duties on timber will be a real boon to all parties: to the Canadians, because at the same time that the supplies of lumber to the West-Indies and elsewhere will give a certain profit, they will no longer have the true interests of the colony sacrificed for the benefit of parties at home;—to the mother country, because it will relieve the expenses of the builder, lessen

house-rent and agricultural expenses, and at the same time increase the revenue ;—to the ship-owner, as it will enable him to build much cheaper, and to compete more successfully with foreign vessels, with the prospect also of the carrying trade soon reviving, and the freight of the corn proving an indemnification to him for the loss of that on the timber. That a few interested individuals would complain is undoubted, but it is high time that a monopoly so injurious in every point, should be removed; and the profits of a few speculators are not to be for a moment considered, when opposed both to the interests of the colony and of the nation.

I may as well here remark that it would only be an act of justice to the provinces, and no less so to ourselves, to take off the prohibitions at present in force against the importation of goods from France and other countries. The boon itself would be small, but still it would be a stimulus to enterprize, and the time has gone by

for England to impose such restrictions on her colonies. I say that we should lose nothing, because all these articles are imported by the Americans; and if the Canadians wish to procure them, they can obtain them immediately at Buffalo, and other American towns bordering on the lakes. At present, therefore, all the profits arising from these importations go into the pockets of the Americans, who are the only parties benefited by our restrictive laws. We should therefore remove them.

I shall now support the arguments in this chapter, touching the relative value of the corn and the timber trade to the Canadas, by some extracts from the evidence given in the Report of the Committee on the Timber Duties.

Q. "Have you ever formed an opinion of what rate per quarter wheat could be exported to this country, so as to yield a profit to the exporter?—A. I cannot call it to mind accurately, but I think the estimate I once made was between 40s. and 50s.

Q. “Would it not follow that, unless the price of wheat in this country were to rise to 40*s.* or 50*s.* per quarter, the population that your former answer would transfer from the timber trade to the agricultural would not be able advantageously to employ themselves?—

A. No ; I do not think it follows necessarily. If all our population were devoted to agriculture, our settlements would be more dense, and their roads more perfect ; in fact, all the social offices more perfectly fulfilled ; which would enable them to bring their wheat to market at a more moderate price, and thus they might obtain a larger profit even with a lower price. We should bear in mind, in relation to their agricultural produce, that the farmer of course first feeds his own family, and that price only affects him so far as it relates to his surplus produce, and that price rather affects his luxuries than his means of subsistence. I am not aware that the present prices would prevent a farmer ob-

taining that return which would enable him to purchase at least all his necessities.

Q. "What do you suppose is the average expense of the conveyance of wheat from the remote parts of Canada to Montreal?—*A.* I believe the cost of bringing wheat from Niagara to Montreal was about 15*d.* colonial currency, but I am not certain; it is not now lower. I once made a table showing the cost of taking produce of all kinds from three points on Lake Ontario and on Lake Erie, and sending up articles to the same places.

Q. "What is the freight from Quebec to England?—*A.* The ordinary rate has been from 8*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* a quarter for wheat.

Q. "Do you know the price of wheat in this country?—*A.* I believe the last average was 40*s.*

Q. "If at 40*s.* you would probably allow 10*s.* a quarter, by your present statement, as a fair deduction for the expenses of bringing it into this market?—*A.* I should think so.

Q. “Do you think the price of 30s. would pay the agricultural producer in Canada for the production of wheat ; would afford a return for the investment of capital in the production of wheat in Canada ?—**A.** I should be loth to speak to a point on which I have not sufficient knowledge.

Q. “Is it not indispensable to form an opinion upon that point to justify the opinion you have already given ?—**A.** I think not. I have that feeling, that the consequence of their not having the timber trade would be, that they would produce other articles, and that their condition would not be deteriorated. I am led to that conclusion by seeing the present condition of the State of New York, which once depended on the timber trade ; I look also to Vermont ; and when every man tells me that he laments and has lamented that he ever meddled with the timber trade, I think that I am justified in my opinion, for no one will pretend to state that the land of Vermont, or even of New York, equals that of

Canada. While speaking of the soil of Canada, I would observe that Jacobs has estimated the average return for wheat on the Continent at four to one, of Great Britain seven to one, and Gourlay has estimated the return of Upper Canada at *twenty to one*. Many state that Upper Canada is *unrivalled* in comparison with any other piece of land of equal extent.

Q. "Are you aware of the extent of exportation of agricultural produce from Canada? —A. I am; I can state it from memory. The largest quantity of wheat exported in any year was in 1831, and I think amounted to 1,300,000 bushels.

Q. "Can you make the same statement with reference to corn and provisions as to other articles?—A. Canada exports a great deal of corn.

Q. "Which Canada?—A. Both Upper and Lower Canada.

Q. "Does Lower Canada grow corn enough for her own consumption?—A. I should think Lower Canada did, and more.

Q. "Does Upper Canada?—*A.* Upper Canada a great deal more.

Q. "Have you the amount of the exports?—*A.* I have the exports of 1833; the two Canadas exported about 650,000 bushels of wheat.

Q. "How much flour?—*A.* About 91,000 barrels.

Q. "Have you any account of the imports of flour from the United States into Lower Canada?—*A.* I have not with me; but I can give it very nearly.

Q. "Do those exports of which you have spoken just now comprehend the United States' flour?—*A.* No, they are exclusive of Colonial production.

Q. "Is not Lower Canada, as well as Upper Canada, in the habit of supplying herself, to a certain degree, with American flour and wheat, and exporting her own produce, on account of the state of the corn laws last year?—*A.* Yes, it is done to a certain extent. I have some indication as to the quantity which comes from the United

States into Upper and Lower Canada being small. In the returns of the traffic last year through the Welland Canal, about 265,000 bushels of wheat passed through, of which 18,000 British and 22,000 American only went to Montreal. All the rest went to Oswego, for the New York market : but the destination in future will probably depend upon whether the internal communication is improved in those colonies, and on the state of the market in New York and in the Canadas.

Q. " If there is sufficient capital, is there any reason to suppose it would not be beneficial to engage in both ?—A. I do not think it is a question concerning the abundance of capital, but the good to be derived from the preservation of the Canada timber trade by enormous protecting duties. I am confident that *the timber trade is inimical to the best interests of the Canadas* ; it would be possible to make the timber trade more beneficial than any other pursuit in the country, and the way to render it so would be to give immense protecting duties to the timber

trade of Canada, allowing all other articles of produce to be open to general competition ; but, by such a course, England would not be benefiting *Canada*.

Q. " Can you state the average prices of wheat at Quebec the last four or five years?—*A.* I think 5*s.* or 6*s.* Canadian currency ; the latter rate is equal to 5*s.* sterling, which is 40*s.* a quarter ; but I do not suppose an average of several years would be over 4*s.* 2*d.*, that would be 33*s.* 4*d.* There are peculiar circumstances that attended the last three or four years.

Q. " Has it been higher the last three or four years than the three or four years previously?—*A.* Considerably higher than the ten years previously.

Q. " Do you think 30*s.* a quarter would have been the average of the ten years preceding?—*A.* I should think so, but I cannot now speak positively.

Q. " Are the committee to understand it to be your opinion, that if the timber establishments were broken up and no more timber exported

from Canada, there would be no loss to that country?—*A.* There might be an immediate loss, and a *very great subsequent gain*. I think there would be an immediate loss attending on the mills, possibly £150,000 to £200,000.

Q. “Has it not been the fact that there has been a constant and gradual increase of tonnage into Quebec for the last fifteen years?—*A.* Yes.

Q. “Presuming that those establishments were to be broken up, and no more timber exported, do you think that gradual increase would still continue?—*A.* No; the first consequence, I think, very possibly would be a very material decrease.

Q. “Subsequently the *same tonnage* would be required for the *carriage of corn* as at present?—*A.* Some years hence, for corn and other articles.

CHAPTER III.

To one who has a general knowledge of the various English colonies, to which emigration is constantly taking place, it appears very strange that people should emigrate to such countries as New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, and New Zealand, when Upper Canada is comparatively so near to them, and affording every advantage which a settler could wish. Of course the persuasion of interested parties, and their own ignorance, prevent them from ascertaining the truth. Indeed, the reports upon Upper Canada are occasionally as highly coloured as those relative to the other colonies, and nothing but an examination of the country, I may say a certain period of residence in it, can enable you to ascertain the real merits of the case.

I have neither land nor interest in Upper Canada, and, therefore, my evidence on the question may be considered as impartial ; and I do not hesitate to assert that Upper Canada promises more advantages to the settler than any other English colony, or any portion whatever of the United States.

I shall now make a few remarks upon emigration to that province, and point out what the settler will have to expect. I have read many works upon the subject ; they are very inaccurate, and hold out to the emigrant brilliant prospects, which are seldom or never realized. The best work, independently of its merits as a novel, is 'Laurie Todd,' by Mr. Galt. And, first, I address myself to the poor man who goes out with only twenty or thirty pounds in his pocket.

If he credit the works written to induce people to emigrate, all that he has to do is to build his log-hut, clear his land, and in three years be an independent man.

It is true that he can purchase fifty acres of land for one hundred dollars, or twenty-five pounds; that he has only to pay one-tenth part of the sum down, which is two pounds ten shillings sterling. It is true that he will collect a *Bee*, as it is termed, or a gathering of neighbours to run up the frame of his house; but, nevertheless, possessing his fifty acres of land and his log-house, he will in all probability be starved out the very first year, especially if he has a family.

To a poor man, a family is *eventually* of immense value. As soon as he has fairly settled, the more children he has the faster he will become rich; but on his first arrival, they will, if not able to work for themselves, be a heavy burthen. If, however, they can do any thing, so as to pay for their board and lodging, he will not be at any expense for them, as there is employment for every body, even for children.

The only article I should recommend him to take out from England is a good supply of

coarse clothing for his family; if he would take out a venture, let it be *second-hand clothes*, and he will double his money if he sells them by auction, for clothes are the most expensive article in Canada. I once saw some cast-off clothes sold by an acquaintance of mine in Upper Canada; a Jew in England would not have given five pounds for the lot, yet, sold at auction, they cleared twenty-five pounds, all expenses paid. He cannot, therefore, take out too much clothing, but the coarser and more common it is the better. Let him supply himself from the old clothes shops, or the cheap stores. New clothes will soon become old when he works hard. Having made this provision, let him buy nothing else; but change his money into sovereigns and keep it in his pocket.

As soon as he arrives at Quebec, he must lose no time in taking the steam-boat up the St. Lawrence, and landing near to where he has decided upon locating. If he has made no decision, at all

events let him leave the city immediately, and get into the country, for there he will get work and spend less money. Instead of thinking of making a purchase of land, let him *give up all thoughts of it for a year or two* ; but hire himself out, and his wife and children also, if he can. If he is a good man, he will receive four pounds a month, or forty-eight pounds a year, with his board and lodging. The major part of this he will be able to lay by. If his wife must stay at home to take care of the children, still let her work ; work is always to be found, and she may not only support herself and children, but assist his fund. By the time that he has been eighteen months or two years in the country, he will have his eyes open, know the value of every thing, and will not be imposed upon as he would have been had he taken a farm immediately upon his arrival. He will have laid by a sum sufficient for him to begin with, and he will have become acquainted with the

mode of farming in the country, which is very different from what he has been used to in the old. He may then go on and prosper.

The next description of emigrant settler to which I shall address myself is he who comes out with a small capital, say from two hundred to five hundred pounds; a sum sufficient to enable him to commence farming at once, but not sufficient to allow him to purchase or stock a farm which has a portion of the land already cleared. The government lands fetch at auction about ten shillings an acre, and they are paid for by instalments, one-tenth down, and one-tenth every year, with interest, until the whole be paid; of course, he may pay it all at once, if he pleases, and save the interest. He must not purchase more than four hundred acres. He can always procure more if he is successful. His first instalment to government for the purchase of four hundred acres will be eighty dollars.

His next object is to have a certain portion

of his land cleared for him. The price varies according to the size and quantity of the portion; but you may say, at the highest, it will cost about sixteen dollars an acre. Let him clear ten acres, and then build his house and barns. I will make two estimates, between which he may decide according to his means.

Estimate 1.

	Dollars.
Instalment to Government	80
Shingle-house	400
Furniture	100
Barns and Sheds	400
Ten acres clearing	160
Oxen	80
Cow	20
Pigs and Poultry.....	20
Plough, Harrow, &c.	20
Seed	50
Horse and Waggon.....	100
	<hr/>
About £300	1,430
To this (if you have no family able to work) for a man and his wife.....	300
Expenses of living the first year	200
	<hr/>
£400	1,930
	<hr/>

Estimate 2.

	Dollars.
Instalment to Government	80
Log-house and Furniture	100
Barn	60
Clearing	160
Oxen.....	80
Cow	20
Pigs and Poultry.....	20
Plough, Harrow, &c.	20
Seed	50
Horse and Waggon.....	100
£150.....	<hr/> 690 <hr/>

But choosing between these two estimates, according to his means, that is, by reserving, if possible, one hundred pounds for contingencies, he has every chance of doing well. He must bear in mind, that although every year his means will increase, he must not cripple himself by an outlay of all his money at first starting. After the first year, he will be able to support himself and family from the farm. I have put every thing at the *outside expense*, that he may not be deceived ; but he must not expend all his capital at once ; his horse or oxen may die—

his crops may partially fail—he may have severe illness—all these contingencies must be provided against.

But the settler who goes out under the most favourable circumstances, is the one who has one thousand pounds or more, and who can, therefore, purchase a farm of from two hundred to four hundred acres, with a portion cleared, and a house and offices ready built. These are always to be had, for there are people in the Canadas, as in America, who have pleasure in selling their cleared land, and going again into the bush. These farms are often to be purchased at the rate of from five to ten dollars per acre for the whole, cleared and uncleared. In this case, all the difficulties have been smoothed away for him, and all that he has to do is, to be industrious and sober.

When I was at London, on the river Thames, (in Upper Canada I mean), I might have purchased a farm, lying on the banks of that river, of four hundred acres, seventy of them cleared, and the rest covered with the finest oak

timber, with a fine water-power, and a saw-mill in full work, a good house, barn, and out-buildings and kitchen garden, for six hundred pounds. In ten years this property will be worth more than six thousand pounds ; and in twenty more, if the country improves as fast as it does now, at least fifteen thousand pounds.

In looking out for a property in Canada, always try to obtain a water-power, or the means of erecting one, by damming up any swift stream ; its value will, in a few years, be very great ; and never consider a few dollars an acre more, if you have transport by water, or are close to a good market. You must look forward to what the country *will be*, not to what it is at present.

Half-pay officers settle in Upper Canada with great advantages, arising from the circumstance, that their annual pay is always a resource to fall back upon. A very small capital is sufficient in this case ; and, if prudent, they gradually rise to independence, if not to wealth. There are,

however, one or two cautions to be given to these gentlemen. *Never go into the bush* if you can help it : accustomed to society, you will find the total loss of it too serious. If you have a wife and large family, they may partially compensate for the loss, but even then it is better to locate yourself near a small town. If you are a single man and sit down in the bush, you are lost. Hundreds have done so, and the result has been, that they have resorted to *intemperance*, and have died ruined men.

But the settlers most required in Upper Canada, and those who would reap the most golden harvest, are men of capital ; when I say capital, I mean those who possess a sum of four or five thousand pounds—a sum very inadequate to support a person in England, who has been born and bred as a gentleman ; but in Canada, with such a sum, he can not only farm, but speculate to great advantage. At present the Americans go over there every year, and realize large sums of money. Indeed, capital is so much required in

Upper Canada, and may be employed to such advantage, that I wonder people, with what may be considered as small capitals here, do not go over. The only caution to give them is, not to be in a hurry ; in the course of a year or two they will understand what they are about, and then they will soon become wealthy.

When I arrived at Toronto, I was called upon by an old friend who had often shot with me in Norfolk. His father had once set him up in business, but the house failed. He resolved to go out to Canada, and his father gave him *a thousand pounds* as a start, and allowed him two hundred pounds a year afterwards. He had been in the country seven years when we met again. I accepted his invitation to dine and sleep at his house, which was about seven miles from the town. He sent handsome saddle horses over for three of us. I found him located on a beautiful farm of about four hundred acres, the major portion of it cleared ; his house was a very elegantly built cottage ornée ; every thing had the

appearance of a handsome English country residence ; he had married a beautiful woman of one of the first families. We sat down to an excellent dinner, and, in every respect, the whole set-out was equal to what you generally meet with in good society in England. He was really living in luxury. We returned the next day, in a handsome carriage and as fine a pair of horses as one could wish to see.

I could hardly credit that all this could have been accumulated in seven years—yet such was the case, and it was not a singular one ; for the whole road from his farm to Toronto was lined with similar farms and handsome houses, belonging to gentlemen who had emigrated, forming, among themselves, a very extensive and most delightful society.

Although they do not go a-head as fast as some of the American cities, (for instance, as Buffalo,) still Upper Canada has, within the last ten or fifteen years, taken a surprising start, and will now, if judiciously governed, increase in wealth almost

as fast as any of the American States. About Toronto, most of the gentlemen have incomes of from seven hundred to fifteen hundred pounds per annum, and keep handsome equipages; but there are many other towns which have lately risen up very rapidly. Peterborough is an instance of this. "Peterborough in 1825 contained but one miserable dwelling; now, in 1838, may be seen nearly four hundred houses, many of them large and handsome, inhabited by about fifteen hundred persons; a very neat stone church, capable of accommodating eight hundred or nine hundred persons,* a Presbyterian church of stone, two

* The building of this Church was undertaken by the inhabitants of Peterborough and its vicinity, belonging to the Church of England. In 1835 it was commenced, and, by great exertions, opened for Divine worship in December 1836, though not altogether finished. Nine hundred pounds was raised by voluntary contributions, not one farthing having been given by any public body to it. The gentlemen composing the building committee are responsible for the remainder due, being five hundred pounds. An advertisement for subscriptions to liquidate this debt has been for some weeks past inserted in a London newspaper.

dissenting places of worship, and a Roman Catholic church in progress. The town has in or near it, two grist, and seven saw-mills, five distilleries, two breweries, two tanneries, eighteen or twenty shops (called stores), carriage, sleigh, waggon, chair, harness, and cabinet-makers, and most other useful trades. Stages run all the year, bringing mails five times a week; and steam-boats whilst the navigation is open; there is one good tavern (White's), and two inferior ones. Families may now find houses of any sizes to suit them, at moderate rents. The roads in this neighbourhood are being greatly improved. The towns of Cobourg, Port Hope, Colborne, Grafton, Brighton, River Trent, and Beaumont in the Newcastle district, are all equally prosperous, and, like Peterborough, are surrounded by genteel families from the United Kingdom; in short, the advancement of this district is almost incredible."

But there is one important subject relative to emigration which must be considered: if it be,

as I trust my readers will be inclined to think with me, a national question, it is highly expedient that it should be not only assisted, but controlled by government. At present the mortality is tremendous ; and I very much question whether there are not more lives sacrificed in the *transport* of the emigrants, than subsequently fall a prey to disease in the western States, bordering on the Mississippi. With those who would emigrate to the United States, we have nothing to do, neither do they so much require our sympathy. The American packets are good vessels, and they suffer little ; and when they land at New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, the charity of the Americans is always ready for their relief. But with the poor emigrants who would settle in Canada, the case is very different. It must be understood, that the Quebec trade is chiefly composed of worn-out and unseaworthy vessels, which cannot find employment elsewhere ; for a vessel which is in such a state that a cargo of dry goods could not be entrusted to

her, is still sufficiently serviceable for the timber trade—as, ‘allowing her bottom to be out’ with a cargo of timber she of course cannot founder. But if these vessels are sufficiently safe to bring timber home, they are not sufficiently good vessels to receive three or four hundred emigrants on board. Leaky, bad sailers, ill-found, the voyage is often protracted, and the sufferings of the poor people on board are dreadful. Fever and other diseases break out among them, and they often arrive at Quebec with sixty or seventy people who are carried to the hospital, independently of those who have died and been thrown overboard.

Sometimes their provisions do not last out the voyage, and they are obliged to purchase of the captain or others on board, (who have prepared for the exigence,) and thus their little savings to recommence life with, are all swallowed up to support existence. I believe that what they suffer is dreadful; and if ever there was a case which would call forth patriotism and sympathy, it is the hardships of these poor people. Allowing

emigration not to be a national question, still it is a question for national humanity, and all this suffering might be alleviated at comparatively a very trifling expense.

If two or three of our smaller line-of-battle ships now lying at their moorings, were to be jury-rigged, without any guns on board, and manned with a sloop's ship's company, they would not decay faster by running between Quebec and this country than if they remained in harbour. One of these vessels would carry out 2,500 men, women, and children. Let the emigrants take their provisions on board, and should their provisions fail them, let there be a surplus for their supply at the cost price. Under this arrangement, you would have that order, cleanliness, and ventilation which would ensure them against disease, and proper medical attendance if it should be required; you would save thousands of lives, and the emigrant, as he left the ship, would feel grateful for the benefit conferred. But the assistance of government must

not end here: the emigrant, on his arrival, is adrift; he knows not where to go; he has no resting place; he is a perfect stranger to the country and to every thing; he exhausts his means before he can find employment or settle: other arrangements are therefore necessary, if the work of charity is to be completed. Indeed, the want of these arrangements is the cause of a very large proportion of the Canadian emigrants leaving our provinces and settling in the United States, where they can immediately find employment; and Americans, agents of the land speculators, are continually on the look-out in Canada, persuading the emigrants, by all sorts of promises and inducements, to leave the provinces and to take lands in the States, belonging to their employers. Every emigrant lost to us is a gain to America; and upon the increase of the English population depends the prosperity, of the Canadas, and our best chance of retaining them in our possession.

Both Upper and Lower Canada have one great

advantage over most of the other territories of the United States, which is, that they are so very healthy; the winters in both provinces are dry, and, in Upper Canada, they are not severe; and the summers are cool, compared with those of the United States. Indeed, in point of climate, they cannot be surpassed; and I rather think, independently of its fine soil, which enables it to grow every thing (for even tobacco grows well in Upper Canada), that in mineral richness it is not to be exceeded. It abounds in water-power, and has several splendid rivers. As soon as the roads are made (for that is the present desideratum in the Upper Province), I have no hesitation in asserting, that it will be, of all others, the most favourable spot for emigration. It is a man's own fault if, with common industry, he does not, in a few years, secure competence and the happiness arising from independence, when it is accompanied by that greatest of all blessings—health.

There has been so strange and continued a system of misrule on the part of the mother-country with respect to these provinces, that I am not surprised at any thing which takes place ; but it is certain that the emigration to the Canadas has been very much checked by the Government itself.

The price of land in the United States is fixed at a dollar and a quarter per acre ; be it of the best quality, full of minerals, or with any other important advantages, the price is still the same. The set-up price in Canada is two dollars per acre. If no more is offered it is sold at that sum, but at no less. Now, whatever the Government may imagine, I can assure them that this difference in the price is considered very important by those who emigrate, and that thousands who would have settled in Canada, have, in consequence, repaired to the United States, much to our disadvantage ; and this appears so contradictory, as the Government have

very unwisely parted with enormous tracts of the best land, selling them to a Company at a price which, with facilities for payment, reduces the price paid per acre by this Company to, I think, about one shilling and three-pence, and for which the Company now charge the same price as the Government; thus giving a bonus to speculators which they refuse to those who wish to become *bonâ fide* settlers. I never could comprehend the grounds upon which they were persuaded to so unwise an act as that. The lands were sold to the Company before the present Government were in power, but why the price of the land still in possession of the Crown should be raised higher than in the United States I cannot imagine. Sound policy would reduce it lower, for the increase of wealth in the province must ever consist in the increase of its population.

There are in Upper Canada several villages of free negroes, who have escaped from the United States, and should it be considered at any time

advisable to remove any of the West-Indian population, it would be very wise to give them land on the Upper Canada frontiers. The negroes thrive there uncommonly well, and have acquired habits of industry ; and, as may be supposed, are most inveterate against the Americans, as was proved in the late disturbances, when they could hardly be controlled. They imagine (and very truly) that if the Americans were to obtain possession of Canada, that they would return to slavery, and it is certain that they are not only brave, but would die rather than be taken prisoners. This is a question worth consideration, as out of an idle and useless race in the West-Indies may be formed, at very little expense, a most valuable frontier population to these provinces. I am happy to perceive that, in the Report of Lord Durham, the importance of these provinces to the mother-country is fully acknowledged.

“ These interests are indeed of great magnitude ; and on the course which your Majesty

and your Parliament may adopt, with respect to the North American colonies, will depend the future destinies, not only of the million and a half of your Majesty's subjects who at present inhabit those provinces, but of that vast population which those ample and fertile territories are fit and destined hereafter to support. No portion of the American continent possesses greater natural resources for the maintenance of large and flourishing communities. An almost boundless range of the richest soil still remains unsettled, and may be rendered available for the purposes of agriculture. The wealth of inexhaustible forests of the best timber in America, and of extensive regions of the most valuable minerals, have as yet been scarcely touched. Along the whole line of sea-coast, around each island, and in every river, are to be found the greatest and richest fisheries in the world. The best fuel and the most abundant water-power are available for the coarser manufactures, for which an easy and certain market will be found.

Trade with other continents is favoured by the possession of a large number of safe and spacious harbours ; long, deep, and numerous rivers, and vast inland seas, supply the means of easy intercourse ; and the structure of the country generally affords the utmost facility for every species of communication by land. Unbounded materials of agricultural, commercial and manufacturing industry are there ; it depends upon the present decision of the Imperial Legislature to determine for whose benefit they are to be rendered available. The country which has founded and maintained these colonies at a vast expense of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population ; they are the rightful patrimony of the English people, the ample appanage which God and Nature have set aside in the New World for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portion in the Old. Under wise and free institutions, these great advan-

tages may yet be secured to your Majesty's subjects; and a connexion, secured [by the link of kindred origin and mutual benefits,'may continue to bind to the British Empire the ample territories of its North American provinces, and the large and flourishing population by which they will assuredly be filled."

CHAPTER IV.

PREVIOUS to my entering into a further examination of the Canada question, it will perhaps be better to recapitulate, in as few words as possible, what has already occurred, and the principal causes of the late insurrection.

When the Canadian provinces were reduced by the British arms, the inhabitants, being entirely French, were permitted to retain their own laws, their own language in Courts and public offices, and all their vested rights which had been granted to them by the French government. It was a generous, but, as it has been proved, an unwise policy. The form of government, as an English colony, was proposed, and acceded to by the French population, who, gra-

tified by the liberality of their new rulers, cheerfully took the oath of allegiance. For many years, indeed it may be said until the close of the war of 1814, the population remained almost entirely French. England had been so long engaged in war, and the annual expenditure of life in her armies and her navies was so great, that she could not permit, much less encourage, emigration.

At the close of the war of 1814, the census of the population in the two Canadian provinces was as follows:—In Lower Canada, between three and four hundred thousand; in Upper Canada, from thirty to forty thousand, of which nineteen-twentieths were of French extraction. But the emigration during the last twenty-five years of peace has made a considerable change. The population of Lower Canada has increased to six hundred thousand, and that of Upper Canada now amounts to upwards of four hundred thousand. As the emigration has been almost wholly from the British dominions, it may be now fairly

assumed that, taking the two provinces together, the English and French population are now on a par as to numbers ; the English preponderate in the Upper province as much as the French do in the Lower. But if we are to consider the two nations of settlers as to their respective value as emigrants to the provinces, on the point of capital, industry, and enterprize, the scale will descend immediately in favour of the English population. The French are inactive, adverse to speculation, or even improvement. Every *habitant* is content with his farm as handed down to him by his progenitor, and the higher classes who hold the seigneuries are satisfied with their seignorial rights and the means of exaction which they afford to them. The privileges of these seigneurs, or lords of the manor, in Lower Canada, are very extensive, and a bar to all improvement or advance. They hold the exclusive right of hunting and fishing ; all the water privileges, such as the erection of saw-mills, &c., are insured to them. The *habitant*

is even compelled to send his flour to be ground at the mill of the lord of the manor. At the sale of every property, the lord of the manor receives one-twelfth of the proceeds. Thus, if a farm worth a few hundred pounds was to fall into the hands of an enterprising man, and he was to raise it to the value of thousands, more than the prime-cost would be deducted for the lord of the manor if he were compelled to part with it. This, with the other impediments to enterprize, has left Lower Canada in a state of quiescence, and the emigrants who have gone over have passed it by that they might settle on the more fertile and free province of Upper Canada. One of the writers in the daily press of New York has very truly remarked :—

“ When the British first obtained the Canadas, its commerce consisted of a few peltries, conveyed to France by the vessels which brought out the troops and carried back the disbanded regiments. The lumber trade was unknown. The importations were a nonentity. While at

present many hundreds of vessels are engaged in the direct timber trade, and more than one hundred and fifty vessels have been frequently counted on the river St. Lawrence. These, it must be remembered, are almost exclusively owned by British merchants; while the French Canadians own the land in the same proportion as the English do the trade."

It was the knowledge of these facts, and that the English were every year rising in importance, (for they had not only secured the whole trade, but were gradually occupying the more fertile land of the Upper province,) which has created the jealousy and ill-will, and has been such a source of irritation to the French inhabitants of the Lower province. I have dwelt upon these facts because there is a very general opinion (which has most unfortunately been acted upon by our Governments), that the legislature of the province should be guided by the interests of the majority, and this they have considered to be in favour of the French population; whereas in num-

bers they are about equal, and in point of wealth and importance, the English population are most decidedly in the advance ; besides that, the former population would willingly separate themselves from the mother-country, and therefore deserve but little favour, while the latter are loyal and attached to it. The French having the ascendancy of five to one in the Lower province, have done all they can to check improvement. Public works which have cost large sums, have remained uncompleted, because the House of Assembly in the Lower province has refused to allow them to be carried on. Indeed, had the Lower province been allowed to continue in her career of opposition, she would have eventually rendered difficult all communication between the Upper province and the mother-country."

This is acknowledged in Lord Durham's report, which says—

" Without going so far as to accuse the Assembly of a deliberate design to check the settlement and improvement of Lower Canada, it

cannot be denied that they looked with considerable jealousy and dislike on the increase and prosperity of what they regarded as a foreign and hostile race; they looked on the province as the patrimony of their own race; they viewed it not as a country to be settled, but as one already settled; and instead of legislating in the American spirit, and first providing for the future population of the province, their primary care was, in the spirit of legislation which prevails in the old world, to guard the interests and feelings of the present race of inhabitants, to whom they considered the new comers as subordinate; they refused to increase the burthens of the country by imposing taxes to meet the expenditure required for improvement, and they also refused to direct to that object any of the funds previously devoted to other purposes. The improvement of the harbour of Montreal was suspended, from a political antipathy to a leading English merchant who had been the most active of the commissioners, and by whom it had been

conducted with the most admirable success. It is but just to say, that some of the works which the Assembly authorized and encouraged, were undertaken on a scale of due moderation, and satisfactorily perfected and brought into operation. Others, especially the great communications which I have mentioned above, the Assembly showed a great reluctance to promote or even to permit. It is true that there was considerable foundation for their objections to the plan on which the Legislature of Upper Canada had commenced some of these works, and to the mode in which it had carried them on ; but the English complained that, instead of profiting by the experience which they might have derived from this source, the Assembly seemed only to make its objections a pretext for doing nothing. The applications for banks, railroads, and canals were laid on one side until some general measures could be adopted with regard to such undertakings ; but the general measures thus promised

were never passed, and the particular enterprizes in question were prevented. The adoption of a registry was refused, on the alleged ground of its inconsistency with the French institutions of the province, and no measure to attain this desirable end in a less obnoxious mode, was prepared by the leaders of the Assembly. The feudal tenure was supported, as a mild and just provision for the settlement of a new country; a kind of assurance given by a committee of the Assembly, that some steps should be taken to remove the most injurious incidents of the seignorial tenure, produced no practical results; and the enterprizes of the English were still thwarted by the obnoxious laws of the country. In all these decisions of the Assembly, in its discussions, and in the apparent motives of its conduct, the English population perceived traces of a desire to repress the influx and the success of their race. A measure for imposing a tax on emigrants, though recommended by the Home

Government, and warranted by the policy of those neighbouring States which give the greatest encouragement to emigration, was argued on such grounds in the Assembly, that it was not unjustly regarded as indicative of an intention to exclude any further accession to the English population; and the industry of the English was thus retarded by this conduct of the Assembly. Some districts, particularly that of the Eastern Townships, where the French race have no footing, were seriously injured by the refusal of necessary improvements; and the English inhabitants generally regarded the policy of the Assembly as a plan for preventing any further emigration to the province, of stopping the growth of English wealth, and of rendering precarious the English property already invested or acquired in Lower Canada."

It may be said, that latterly the French party, by the inconsiderate yielding of the Government at home, legislate for both provinces; and finding that they never could compete with the Eng-

lish in other points, their object has been to crush them as much as possible.* The policy pursued

* It was not long after the conquest, that another and larger class of English settlers began to enter the province. English capital was attracted to Canada by the vast quantity and valuable nature of the exportable produce of the country, and the great facilities for commerce, presented by the natural means of internal intercourse. The ancient trade of the country was conducted on a much larger and more profitable scale; and new branches of industry were explored. The active and regular habits of the English capitalist drove out of all the more profitable kinds of industry their inert and careless competitors of the French race; but in respect of the greater part (almost the whole) of the commerce and manufactures of the country, the English cannot be said to have encroached on the French; for, in fact, they created employments and profits which had not previously existed. A few of the ancient race smarted under the loss occasioned by the success of English competition; but all felt yet more acutely the gradual increase of a class of strangers in whose hands the wealth of the country appeared to centre, and whose expenditure and influence eclipsed those of the class which had previously occupied the first position in the country. Nor was the intrusion of the English limited to commercial enterprises. By degrees, large portions of land were occupied by them; nor did they confine themselves to the unsettled and distant country of the townships. The wealthy capitalist invested his money in the purchase of seignorial

by M. Papineau and his adherents, has therefore been to keep the Lower Province entirely in the

properties ; and it is estimated, that at the present moment full half of the more valuable seignories are actually owned by English proprietors. The seigniorial tenure is one so little adapted to our notions of proprietary rights, that the new seigneur, without any consciousness or intention of injustice, in many instances exercised his rights in a manner which would appear perfectly fair in this country, but which the Canadian settler reasonably regarded as oppressive. The English purchaser found an equally unexpected and just cause of complaint in that uncertainty of the laws, which rendered his possession of property precarious, and in those incidents of the tenure which rendered its alienation or improvement difficult. But an irritation, greater than that occasioned by the transfer of the large properties, was caused by the competition of the English with the French farmer. The English farmer carried with him the experience and habits of the most improved agriculture in the world. He settled himself in the townships bordering on the seignories, and brought a fresh soil and improved cultivation to compete with the worn-out and slovenly farm of the *habitant*. He often took the very farm which the Canadian settler had abandoned, and, by superior management, made that a source of profit which had only impoverished his predecessor. The ascendancy which an unjust favoritism had contributed to give to the English race in the government and the legal profession, their own superior energy, skill and capital secured to

hands of the French, and with this view they have, as much as possible, prevented British settlers from obtaining land in Lower Canada ; and that their rule might be absolute, over the French population, they have prevented their education, so that they might blindly follow those who guided them. These two assertions will be fully borne out by an examination into the public records.

The land being almost wholly in the possession of the French, M. Papineau's first object was, to make the possession of *landed property* the tenure by which any employment of trust under government could be held ; and in this great object he succeeded. It must at once be perceived that, by this regulation alone, all them in every branch of industry. They have developed the resources of the country ; they have constructed or improved its means of communication ; they have created its internal and foreign commerce. The entire wholesale, and a large portion of the retail trade of the province, with the most profitable and flourishing farms, are now in the hands of this numerical minority of the population.

British residents were excluded, and that if possessed of capital to any amount, whatever their stake in the colony might be, they were ruled and dictated to by the French party. No person could be an officer in the militia unless he was a land-owner. The wealthy English merchant had to fall into the ranks, and be ordered about by an ignorant French farmer, a man who could not write or read, but made his cross to any paper presented to him for his signature.

By another enactment the grand juries were to be selected from those who were land-owners, and the consequence was, that in two grand juries selected in two succeeding years, there was only one man who could write or read out of the whole number, and the others fixed their cross to the bills found.

What was still more absurd was, that the office of trustee for the schools could only be held by the same tenure, and in the Act passed, it is provided, that the trustees for national education may be permitted to affix their *cross* to the school

reports, a more convincing proof of the state of ignorance in which the Canadian French population have been held and acknowledged to be so by the French party, by the making such a proviso in the statute. I had a convincing proof myself of the ignorance of the French population during the rebellion in Lower Canada. I handed a printed circular to about four hundred prisoners who were collected, for one of them to read aloud to the rest, and there was not one who could read *print*.

Having secured the party in the province, the next object of M. Papineau and his adherents was, to blind the Government at home: they sent home a list of grievances which required redress, and in this they were joined by the English republican party. Among other demands, they insisted upon the right to the Lower Assembly having the control of the colonial revenues. So earnest was the Government at home to satisfy them, that every concession was made, and even the last great question of controlling their own expenditure was con-

sent to, upon the sole condition that the civil list, for the payment of the salary of the governor and other state officers, was secured.

What was the conduct of M. Papineau and his party as soon as they had gained their point? They immediately broke their faith with the Government at home, and refused to vote the sum for the civil list.

For three years, the governor and all the public officers were without their salaries, which were at last provided for by a vote of the English Parliament at home. This nefarious conduct of the French party had one good effect, it created a disunion with the English republican party, who, although they wished for reform, would be no participators in such a breach of honour.

That for many years there has been sad mismanagement on the part of the Government at home, cannot be denied, but the error has been the continual yielding to French clamour and misrepresentation, and the Government having lost sight of the fact that the English population

were rapidly increasing, and had an equal right to the protection of the mother-country. It is the English population who have had real cause of complaint, and who are justified in demanding redress ; the French have been only too well treated, and their demands became more imperious in proportion to the facility with which the Government yielded to them in their earnest, but mistaken, desire to put an end to the agitation of M. Papineau and his party. Mistaking the forbearance of the English government for weakness, M. Papineau issued his inflammatory appeals ; the people were incited to rebellion ; but even this conduct did not seem to rouse the Government at home, who had probably formed the idea that the French Canadian was too peaceful to have recourse to arms. Emboldened by this conduct on the part of Government, which was ascribed to fear, and finding themselves supported by Mr. Joseph Hume and Mr. Roebuck at home, the republican party in Upper Canada openly declared itself, and a portion of the

Canadian press issued the most treasonable articles without molestation. The Americans were not idle in fomenting this ill-will towards the mother-country in the Upper Province, and the Papineau party proceeded to more active measures. Arrangements were made for a general rising of the Lower Province ; the meeting of St. Charles took place, and resolutions were passed of a nature which could no longer be overlooked by the Provincial Government. For many months previous to the meeting at St. Charles, the Provincial Government had been aroused and aware of the danger, and Lord Gosford perceived the necessity of acting contrary to the orders received from home. Proofs had been obtained against those who were most active in the intended rebellion, and at last warrants were issued by the Attorney-General for their apprehension. It was this sudden and unexpected issue of the warrants which may be said to have saved the provinces. It defeated all the plans of the conspirators, who had not intended to

have flown to arms until the *next Spring*, when their arrangements would have been fully made and organized. This fact I had from Bouchette, and three or four of the ringleaders, whom I visited in prison. They intended to have had the leaf on the tree, and the cold weather over, before they commenced operations; and had they waited till then the result might have been very serious, but the issue of the warrants for the apprehension of the leaders placed them in the awkward dilemma of either being deprived of them, or of having recourse to arms before their plans were fully matured. The latter was the alternative preferred; and the results of this unsuccessful attempt are well described in Lord Durham's report :—

“The treasonable attempt of the French party to carry its political objects into effect by an appeal to arms, brought these hostile races into general and armed collision. I will not dwell on the melancholy scenes exhibited in the progress of the contest, or the fierce passions

which held an unchecked sway during the insurrection, or immediately after its suppression. It is not difficult to conceive how greatly the evils, which I have described as previously existing, have been aggravated by the war; how terror and revenge nourished, in each portion of the population, a bitter and irreconcilable hatred to each other, and to the institutions of the country. The French population, who had for some time exercised a great and increasing power through the medium of the House of Assembly, found their hopes unexpectedly prostrated in the dust. The physical force which they had vaunted was called into action, and proved to be utterly inefficient. The hope of recovering their previous ascendancy under a constitution similar to that suspended, almost ceased to exist. Removed from all actual share in the government of their country, they brood in sullen silence over the memory of their fallen countrymen, of their burnt villages, of their ruined property, of their extinguished ascendancy, and of their humbled

nationality. To the Government and the English they ascribe these wrongs, and nourish against both an indiscriminating and eternal animosity. Nor have the English inhabitants forgotten in their triumph, the terror with which they suddenly saw themselves surrounded by an insurgent majority, and the incidents which alone appeared to save them from the unchecked domination of their antagonists. They find themselves still a minority in the midst of a hostile and organized people; apprehensions of secret conspiracies and sanguinary designs haunt them unceasingly, and their only hope of safety is supposed to rest on systematically terrifying and disabling the French, and in preventing a majority of that race from ever again being predominant in any portion of the legislature of the province. I describe in strong terms the feelings which appear to me to animate each portion of the population; and the picture which I draw represents a state of things so little familiar to the personal experience of the people

of this country, that many will probably regard it as the work of mere imagination; but I feel confident that the accuracy and moderation of my description will be acknowledged by all who have seen the state of society in Lower Canada during the last year. Nor do I exaggerate the inevitable constancy, any more than the intensity of this animosity. Never again will the present generation of French Canadians yield a loyal submission to a British Government; never again will the English population tolerate the authority of a House of Assembly in which the French shall possess or even approximate to a majority."

Although M. Papineau and his party were very willing to fraternize with the discontented party in Upper Canada, and to call forth the sympathy and the assistance of the Americans, their real intentions and wishes were to have made the Canadas an independent French province, in strict alliance with France.* The assistance

* "Nor does there appear to be the slightest chance of putting an end to this animosity during the present

of the Upper Canada party would have been accepted until they were no longer required,

generation. Passions inflamed during so long a period, cannot speedily be calmed. The state of education which I have previously described as placing the peasantry entirely at the mercy of agitators, the total absence of any class of persons, or any organization of authority that could counteract this mischievous influence, and the serious decline in the district of Montreal of the influence of the clergy, concur in rendering it absolutely impossible for the Government to produce any better state of feeling among the French population. It is even impossible to impress on a people so circumstanced the salutary dread of the power of Great Britain, which the presence of a large military force in the province might be expected to produce. I have been informed, by witnesses so numerous and so trustworthy that I cannot doubt the correctness of their statements, that the peasantry were generally ignorant of the large amount of force which was sent into their country last year. The newspapers that circulate among them had informed them that Great Britain had no troops to send out; that in order to produce an impression on the minds of the country-people, the same regiments were marched backwards and forwards in different directions, and represented as additional arrivals from home. This explanation was promulgated among the people by the agitators of each village; and I have no doubt that the mass of the inhabitants really believed that the government was endeavouring to impose on them by this species of fraud. It is a population with whom au-

and then there would have been an attempt, and very probably a successful one, to drive away

thority has no means of contact or explanation. It is difficult even to ascertain what amount of influence the ancient leaders of the French party continue to possess. [The name of M. Papineau is still cherished by the people; and the idea is current that, at the appointed time, he will return, at the head of an immense army, and re-establish "La Nation Canadienne."] But there is great reason to doubt whether his name be not used as a mere watchword; whether the people are not in fact running entirely counter to his counsels and policy; and whether they are not really under the guidance of separate petty agitators, who have no plan but that of a senseless and reckless determination to show in every way their hostility to the British Government and English race. Their ultimate designs and hopes are equally unintelligible. Some vague expectation of absolute independence still seems to delude them. The national vanity, which is a remarkable ingredient in their character, induces many to flatter themselves with the idea of a Canadian Republic; the sounder information of others has led them to perceive that a separation from Great Britain must be followed by a junction with the great Confederation on their southern frontier. But they seem apparently reckless of the consequences, provided they can wreak their vengeance on the English. There is no people against which early associations and every conceivable difference of manners and opinions,

by every means in their power the English settlers in Upper Canada to the United States. The Americans, on the other hand, cared nothing

have implanted in the Canadian mind a more ancient and rooted national antipathy than that which they feel against the people of the United States. Their more discerning leaders feel that their chances of preserving their nationality would be greatly diminished by an incorporation with the United States ; and recent symptoms of Anti-Catholic feeling in New England, well known to the Canadian population, have generated a very general belief that their religion, which even they do not accuse the British party of assailing, would find little favour or respect from their neighbours. Yet none even of these considerations weigh against their present all-absorbing hatred of the English ; and I am persuaded that they would purchase vengeance and a momentary triumph by the aid of any enemies, or submission to any yoke. This provisional but complete cessation of their ancient antipathy to the Americans, is now admitted even by those who most strongly denied it during the last spring, and who then asserted that an American war would as completely unite the whole population against the common enemy, as it did in 1813. My subsequent experience leaves no doubt in my mind that the views which were contained in my despatch on the 9th of August are perfectly correct ; and that an invading American army might rely on the co-operation of almost the entire French population of Lower Canada."

about the French or English grievances ; their sympathy arose from nothing less than a wish to add the Canadas to their already vast territories, and to drive the English from their last possessions in America ; but they also knew how to wear the cloak as well as M. Papineau, and had the insurrection been successful, both French and English would by this time have been subjected to their control, and M. Papineau would have found that he had only been a tool in the hands of the more astute and ambitious Americans. Such is my conviction : but this is certain, that whatever might have been the result of the former insurrection, or whatever may be the result of any future one (for the troubles are not yet over), the English in Upper Canada must fall a sacrifice to either one party or the other, unless they can succeed (which, with their present numbers and situation, will be difficult) in overpowering them both.

It may be inquired, what were the causes of discontent which occasioned the partial rising in

Upper Canada. Strange to say, although Mackenzie and his party were in concert and correspondence with M. Papineau, the chief cause of discontent arose from the partiality shewn by the English government to the French Canadians in Lower Canada; their grievances were their own, and they had no fellow-feeling with the French Canadians. If they had any prepossession at all, it was in favour of joining the American States, and to this they were instigated by the number of Americans who had settled in Upper Canada. There were several minor causes of discontent: the Scotch emigrants were displeased because the government had decided that the clergy revenues were to be allotted only for the support of the Episcopal church, and not for the Presbyterian. But the great discontent was because the English settlers considered that they had been unfairly treated, and sacrificed by the government at home. But although discontent was general, a wish to rebel was not so, and here it was that Mackenzie found

himself in error, and M. Papineau was deceived; instead of being joined by thousands, as they expected, from the Upper Province, they could only muster a few hundreds, who were easily dispersed; the feelings of loyalty prevailed, and those whom the rebel-leaders expected would have joined the standard of insurrection, enrolled themselves to trample it under foot. The behaviour of the settlers in Upper Canada was worthy of all praise: they had just grounds of complaint; they had been opposed and sacrificed to a malevolent and ungrateful French party in the Lower Province; yet when the question arose as to whether they should assist, or put down the insurrection, they immediately forgot their own wrongs, and proved their loyalty to their country.

The party who adhered to Mackenzie may well be considered as an American party; for Upper Canada had been so neglected and uncared for, that the Americans had already obtained great influence there. Indeed, when it is

stated that Mathews and Lount, the two *members of the Upper House of Assembly* who were executed for treason, were both *Americans*, it is evident that the Americans had even obtained a share in the legislation of the province. When I passed through the Upper Province, I remarked that, independently of some of the best land being held by Americans, the landlords of the inns, the contractors for transporting the mails, and drivers of coaches, were almost without exception, Americans.

One cause of the Americans wishing that the Canadas should be wrested from the English was that, by an Act of the Legislature, they were not able to hold lands in the province. It is true that they could purchase them, but if they wished to sell them, the title was not valid. Colonel Prince, whose name was so conspicuous during the late troubles, brought in a bill to allow Americans to hold land in Upper Canada, but the bill was thrown out. It scarcely need be observed that Colonel Prince is now as

violent an opponent to the bill.* He has had quite enough of Americans in Upper Canada.

It was fortunate for the country that there was such a man as Sir John Colborne, and

* Colonel Prince is the gentleman who took with his own hands General Sutherland and his aid-de-camp, and who ordered the Yankee pirates to be shot. Mr. Hume has thought proper to make a motion in the House of Commons, reprobating this act as one of murder. I believe there is little difference whether a man breaks into your house, and steals your money; or burns your house, and robs you of your cattle and other property. One is as much a case of burglary as the other. In the first instance you are justified in taking the robber's life, and why not in the second? Those people who attacked the inhabitants of a country with whom they were in profound peace, were disowned by their own government, consequently they were outlaws and pirates, and it is a pity that Sutherland and every other prisoner taken had not been immediately shot. Mr. Hume may flare up in the House of Commons, but I should like to know what Mr. Hume's opinion would be if he was the party who had had all his property stolen and his house burnt over his head, in the depth of a Canadian winter. I suspect he would say a very different say, as he has no small respect for the *meum*; indeed, I should be sorry to be the party to be sentenced by Mr. Hume, if I had stolen a few ducks out of the honourable gentleman's duck decoys near Yarmouth.

aided by Sir Francis Head, at that period in the command of the two provinces. Of the first it is not necessary that I should add my tribute of admiration to that which Sir John Colborne has already so unanimously received. Sir Francis Head has not been quite so fortunate, and has been accused (most unjustly) of rashness and want of due precaution. Now the only grounds upon which this charge can be preferred is, his sending down to Sir John Colborne all the regular troops, when he was requested if possible so to do. I was at this period at Toronto, and as I had the pleasure of being intimate with Sir Francis, I had full knowledge of the causes of this decision. Sir Francis said, "I have but two hundred regular troops; they will be of great service in the Lower Province, when added to those which Sir John Colborne already has under his command. Here they are not sufficient to stem an insurrection if it be formidable. I do not know what may be the strength of the rebels until they show themselves, but I think I do know the number who

will support me. Should the rebels prove in great force, these two companies of regular troops will be overwhelmed, and what I consider is, not any partial success of the rebel party, but the moral effect which success over regular troops will create. There are, I am sure, thousands who are at present undecided, who, if they heard that the *regular troops*, of whom they have such dread, were overcome, would join the rebel cause. This is what I fear ; as for any advantage gained over me, when I have only *militia* to oppose to them, that is of little consequence. When Sir John Colborne has defeated them in Lower Canada, he can then come up here, with the regular troops."

I believe these to be the very words used by Sir Francis Head when he asked my opinion on the subject, and I agreed with him most cordially ; but if any one is inclined to suppose, from the light, playful, and I must say, undiplomatic style of Sir Francis's despatches, that he had not calculated every chance, and made

every disposition which prudence and foresight could suggest, they are very much mistaken. The most perfect confidence was reposed in him by all parties; and the event proved that he was not out in his calculations, for with the militia alone he put down the rebellion. During the short time from Sir F. Head's going out, until he requested to be recalled, he did more good to that province, and more to secure the English dominion than could be imagined, and had he not been governor of the province for some time previous to the rebellion, I strongly surmise that it would have been lost to this country.

The events of the rebellion are too fresh in the reader's memory to be mentioned here. It is, however, necessary to examine into the present state of affairs, for it must not be supposed that the troubles have yet ceased.

First, as to the French Canadian party. If I am not very much mistaken, this may be considered as broken up; the severe lesson received from the English troops, and the want of con-

fidence in their leaders from their cowardice and inability, will prevent the French Canadians from again taking up arms. They are naturally a peaceable, inoffensive, good-tempered people, and nothing but the earnest instigation of a portion of their priests, the notaries, and the doctors, (the three parties who most mix with the habitants), would have ever roused them to rebellion. As it is, I consider that they are efficiently quelled, and will be quiet, at least for one generation, if the measures of the Government at home are judicious. The cause of the great influence obtained by the people I have specified over the habitants is well explained in Lord Durham's Report. Speaking of the public seminaries, he says:—

“ The education given in these establishments greatly resembles the kind given in the English public schools, though it is rather more varied. It is entirely in the hands of the Catholic clergy. The number of pupils in these establishments is estimated altogether at about a

thousand ; and they turn out every year, as far I could ascertain, between two and three hundred young men thus educated.* Almost all of these are members of the family of some habitant, whom the possession of greater quickness than his brothers has induced the father or the curate of the parish to select and send to the seminary. These young men, possessing a degree of information immeasurably superior to that of their families, are naturally averse to what they regard as descending to the humble occupations of their parents. A few become priests ; but as the military and naval professions are closed against the colonist, the greater part can only find a position suited to their notions of their own qualifications in the learned professions of advocate, notary, and surgeon. As from this cause these professions are greatly overstocked, we find every village in Lower Canada filled with notaries and surgeons, with little practice to occupy their attention, and living among their own families, or at any rate

among exactly the same class. Thus the persons of most education in every village belong to the same families, and the same original station in life, as the illiterate habitants whom I have described. They are connected with them by all the associations of early youth, and the ties of blood. The most perfect equality always marks their intercourse, and the superior in education is separated by no barrier of manners, or pride, or distinct interests, from the singularly ignorant peasantry by which he is surrounded. He combines, therefore, the influences of superior knowledge, and social equality, and wields a power over the mass, which I do not believe that the educated class of any other portion of the world possess."

The second party, which are the discontented, yet loyal English of Upper Canada, are entitled to, and it is hoped will receive the justice they claim: they well deserved it. It is the duty, as well as the interest of the mother-country to foster loyalty, enterprize, and activity, and it is chiefly

in Upper Canada that it is to be found. One great advantage has arisen from the late troubles, which is, that they have driven most of the Americans out of the province, and have created such a feeling of indignation and hatred towards them in the breasts of the Upper Canadians, that there is no chance of their fraternizing for at least another half century. Nothing could have proved more unfortunate to the American desire of obtaining the Canadas than the result of the late rebellions. Should the Upper Canadians, from any continued injustice and misrule on the part of the mother-country, be determined to separate, at all events it will not be to ally themselves with the Americans. In Lord Durham's Report we have the following remarks:—

“ I have, in despatches of a later date than that to which I have had occasion so frequently to refer, called the attention of the Home Government to the growth of this alarming state of feeling among the English population. The course of the late troubles, and the assistance

which the French insurgents derived from some citizens of the United States, have caused a most intense exasperation among the Canadian loyalists against the American government and people. Their papers have teemed with the most unmeasured denunciations of the good faith of the authorities, of the character and morality of the people, and of the political institutions of the United States. Yet, under this surface of hostility, it is easy to detect a strong under-current of an exactly contrary feeling. As the general opinion of the American people became more apparent during the course of the last year, the English of Lower Canada were surprised to find how strong, in spite of the first burst of sympathy, with a people supposed to be struggling for independence, was the real sympathy of their republican neighbours with the great objects of the minority. Without abandoning their attachment to their mother-country, they have begun, as men in a state of uncertainty are apt to do, to calculate the probable consequences

of a separation, if it should unfortunately occur, and be followed by an incorporation with the United States. In spite of the shock which it would occasion their feelings, they undoubtedly think that they should find some compensation in the promotion of their interests; they believe that the influx of American emigration would speedily place the English race in a majority; they talk frequently and loudly of what has occurred in Louisiana, where, by means which they utterly misrepresent, the end nevertheless of securing an English predominance over a French population has undoubtedly been attained; they assert very confidently, that the Americans would make a very speedy and decisive settlement of the pretensions of the French; and they believe that, after the first shock of an entirely new political state had been got over, they and their posterity would share in that amazing progress, and that great material prosperity, which every day's experience shows them is the lot of the people of the United States.

I do not believe that such a feeling has yet sapped their strong allegiance to the British empire ; but their allegiance is founded on their deep-rooted attachment to British, as distinguished from French institutions. And if they find that that authority which they have maintained against its recent assailants, is to be exerted in such a manner as to subject them again to what they call a French dominion, I feel perfectly confident that they would attempt to avert the result, by courting, on any terms, an union with an Anglo-Saxon people."

Here I do not agree with his lordship. That such was the feeling previous to the insurrection I believe, and, notwithstanding the defeat of the insurgents, would have remained so, had it not been for the piratical attacks of the Americans, which their own government could not control. This was a lesson to the Upper Canadians. They perceived that there was no security for life or property—no law to check outrage—and they felt severely the consequences

of this state of things in the destruction of their property and the attempts upon their lives by a nation professing to be in amity with them. Fraternize with the Americans the Upper Canadians will not. They may be subdued by them if they throw off the allegiance and protection of the mother-country, as they would be hemmed in between two hostile parties, and find it almost impossible, with their present population, to withstand their united efforts. But should a conflict of this kind take place, and the Upper Canadians be allowed but a short period of repose, or could they hold the Americans in check for a time, they would sweep the whole race of the Lower Canadians from the face of the earth. Their feelings towards the Lower Canadians are well explained in Lord Durham's Report :—

“ In the despatch above referred to I also described the state of feeling among the English population, nor can I encourage a hope that that portion of the community is at all more

inclined to any settlement of the present quarrel that would leave any share of power to the hostile race. Circumstances having thrown the English into the ranks of the government, and the folly of their opponents having placed them, on the other hand, in a state of permanent collision with it, the former possess the advantage of having the force of government, and the authority of the laws on their side in the present stage of the contest. Their exertions during the recent troubles have contributed to maintain the supremacy of the law, and the continuance of the connexion with Great Britain; but it would, in my opinion, be dangerous to rely on the continuance of such a state of feeling as now prevails among them, in the event of a different policy being adopted by the Imperial Government. Indeed, the prevalent sentiment among them is one of anything but satisfaction with the course which has been long pursued, with reference to Lower Canada, by the British legislature and executive. The calmer view, which

distant spectators are enabled to take of the conduct of the two parties, and the disposition which is evinced to make a fair adjustment of the contending claims, appear iniquitous and injurious in the eyes of men who think that they alone have any claim to the favour of that government, by which they alone have stood fast. They complain loudly and bitterly of the whole course pursued by the Imperial Government, with respect to the quarrel of the two races, as having been founded on an utter ignorance of, or disregard to the real question at issue, as having fostered the mischievous pretensions of French nationality, and as having, by the vacillation and inconsistency which marked it, discouraged loyalty and fomented rebellion. Every measure of clemency, or even justice, towards their opponents, they regard with jealousy, as indicating a disposition towards that conciliatory policy which is the subject of their angry recollection ; for they feel that being a minority, any return to the due course of constitutional government

would again subject them to a French majority ; and to this I am persuaded they would never peaceably submit. They do not hesitate to say that they will not tolerate much longer the being made the sport of parties at home, and that if the mother-country forgets what is due to the loyal and enterprising men of her own race, they must protect themselves. In the significant language of one of their own ablest advocates, they assert that ‘ Lower Canada must be *English*, at the expense, if necessary, of not being *British*.’ ”

The third party, which is the American, is the only one at present inclined to move, and in all probability they will commence as soon as the winter sets in ; for however opposed to this shameful violation of the laws of nations the President, officers, and respectable portion of the American Union may be, it is certain that the *majority* are represented by these marauders, and the removal of our troops would be a signal for immediate aggression.

The Americans will tell you that the sympathy, as they term it, only exists on the borders of the lakes; that it extends no further, and that they are all opposed to it, &c. Such is not the case. The greatest excitement which was shewn any where was perhaps at Albany, the capital of the State of New York, on the Hudson river, and two hundred miles at least from the boundary; but not only there, but even on the Mississippi the feeling was the same; in fact, it was the feeling of the majority. In a letter I received the other day from a friend at New York, there is the following remark:—

“Bill Johnson (the pirate on lake Ontario) held his levees here during the winter. They were thronged with all the best people of the city.”

Now, the quarter from whence I received this intelligence is to be relied upon; and that it was the case I have no doubt. And why should they feel such interest about a pirate like Bill Johnson? Simply because he had assailed the

English. This may appear a trifle; but a straw thrown up shews in what direction the wind blows.

At present there is no want of troops to defend the Canadas against a foreign attack, and little inclination to rebel in the provinces themselves. That now required is, that the legislature should be improved so as to do justice to all parties, and such an encouragement given to enterprize and industry as to induce a more extended emigration.

Lord Durham has very correctly observed, that it is not now a conflict of principles between the English and French, but a conflict of the two races. He says:—

“ I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races; and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or institutions until we

could first succeed in terminating a deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English."

But why should this conflict between the two races have taken place? Firstly, because the French, by the injudicious generosity of our Government in allowing them to retain their language in public affairs, with all their customs and usages, were allowed to remain a French colony, instead of amalgamating them with the English, as might have been done. Subsequently, because the interests of the English colonists have been sacrificed to the French, who, nevertheless, became disaffected, and would have thrown off the English dominion. Lord Durham very correctly adds:—

"Such is the lamentable and hazardous state of things produced by the conflict of races which has so long divided the province of Lower Canada, and which has assumed the formidable

and irreconcilable character which I have depicted. In describing the nature of this conflict, I have specified the causes in which it originated ; and though I have mentioned the conduct and constitution of the colonial government, as modifying the character of the struggle, I have not attributed to political causes a state of things which would, I believe, under any political institutions have resulted from the very composition of society. A jealousy between two races, so long habituated to regard each other with hereditary enmity, and so differing in habits, in language, and in laws, would have been inevitable under any form of government. That liberal institutions and prudent policy might have changed the character of the struggle, I have no doubt ; but they could not have prevented it ; they could only have softened its character, and brought it more speedily to a more decisive and peaceful conclusion. Unhappily, however, the system of government

pursued in Lower Canada has been based on the policy of perpetuating that very separation of the races, and encouraging these very notions of conflicting nationalities which it ought to have been the first and chief care of Government to check and extinguish. From the period of the conquest to the present time, the conduct of the Government has aggravated the evil, and the origin of the present extreme disorder may be found in the institutions by which the character of the colony was determined."

We have, therefore, to legislate between the two parties, and let us, previous to entering upon the question, examine into their respective merits. On the one hand we have a French population who, after having received every favour which could be granted with a due regard to freedom, have insisted upon, and have obtained much more, and who in return for all the kindness heaped upon them, excited by envy and jealousy of an energy and enterprize of which

they were incapable, have risen in rebellion, with the hopes of making themselves an independent nation.

On the other hand we have a generous, high-spirited race of our own blood, and migrating from our own soil, who, having been unfairly treated, and *having just grounds* of complaint against the mother-country, have nevertheless forgotten their own wrongs, and, to a man, flown to arms, willing to shed their blood in defence of the mother-country.

Add to this, we have the French inhabiting a comparatively sterile country, without activity or enterprize ; the English, in a country fertile to excess, possessing most of the capital, and the only portion of the colonists to whom we can safely confide the defence of that which I trust I have proved to the reader to be the most important outpost in the English dominions. Bearing all this in mind, and also remembering that if the emigration to Upper Canada again revive,

that this latter population will in a few years be in an immense majority, and will ultimately wholly swallow up all the former, we may now proceed to consider what should be the policy of the mother-country.

CHAPTER V.

IN the last chapter I pointed out that in our future legislation for these provinces, we had to decide between the English and French inhabitants; up to the present the French have been in power, and have been invariably favoured by the Government, much to the injury of the English population. Before I offer any opinion on this question, let us inquire what has been the conduct of the French in their exercise of their rights as a Legislative Assembly, and what security they offer us, to incline us again to put confidence in them. In examining into this question, I prefer, as a basis, the Report of Lord Durham, made to the English Parliament. His lordship, adverting to the state

of hostility between the representative and executive powers in our colonies, prefaces with a remark relative to our own country, which I think late events do not fully bear out; he says:—

“ However partial the monarch might be to particular ministers, or however he might have personally committed himself to their policy, he has been *invariably* constrained to abandon both, as soon as the opinion of the people has been irrevocably pronounced against them, through the medium of the House of Commons.”

This he repeats in an after part of the Report:—

“ When a ministry ceases to command a majority in Parliament on great questions of policy, its doom is immediately sealed; and it would appear to us as strange to attempt, for any time, to carry on a Government by means of ministers perpetually in a minority, as it would be to pass laws with a majority of votes against them.”

If such be an essential part of our constitution, as his lordship asserts, surely we have suffered an inroad into it lately.

That the system of Colonial Government is defective, I grant, but it is not so much from the check which the Legislative Council puts upon the Representative Assembly, as from the secrecy of the acts and decisions of that council. This, indeed, his lordship admits in some cases, and I think that I can fully establish that, without this salutary check, the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada would have soon voted themselves Free and Independent States. Lord Durham observes :—

“ I am far from concurring in the censure which the Assembly and its advocates have attempted to cast on the acts of the Legislative Council. I have no hesitation in saying that many of the bills which it is most severely blamed for rejecting, were bills which it could not have passed without a dereliction of its duty

to the constitution, the connexion with Great Britain, and the whole English population of the colony. If there is any censure to be passed on its general conduct, it is for having confined itself to the merely negative and defensive duties of a legislative body ; for having too frequently contented itself with merely defeating objectionable methods of obtaining desirable ends, without completing its duty by proposing measures, which would have achieved the good in view without the mixture of evil. The national animosities which pervaded the legislation of the Assembly, and its thorough want of legislative skill or respect for constitutional principles, rendered almost all its bills obnoxious to the objections made by the Legislative Council ; and the serious evil which their enactment would have occasioned, convinces me that the colony has reason to congratulate itself on the existence of an institution which possessed and used the power of stopping a course of legislation that,

if successful, would have *sacrificed every British interest, and overthrown every guarantee of order and national liberty.*"

Again :—

"One glaring attempt which was made directly and openly to *subvert the constitution of the country*, was, by passing a bill for the formal repeal of those parts of the 31 Geo. 3, c. 31, commonly called the Constitutional Act, by which the constitution and powers of the Legislative Council were established. It can hardly be supposed that the framers of this bill were unaware, or hoped to make any concealment of the obvious illegality of a measure, which, commencing as all Canadian Acts do, by a recital of the 31 Geo. 3, as the foundation of the legislative authority of the Assembly, proceeded immediately to infringe some of the most important provisions of that very statute ; nor can it be supposed that the Assembly hoped really to carry into effect this extraordinary assumption of power, inasmuch as the bill could derive no legal

effect from passing the Lower House, unless it should subsequently receive the assent of the very body which it purported to annihilate."

Take again the following observations of his lordship :—

"But the evils resulting from such open attempts to dispense with the constitution were small, in comparison with the disturbance of the regular course of legislation by systematic abuse of constitutional forms, for the purpose of depriving the other branches of the legislature of all real legislative authority.

"It remained, however, for the Assembly of Lower Canada to reduce the practice to a regular system, in order that it might have the most important institutions of the province periodically at its mercy, and use the necessities of the government and the community for the purpose of extorting the concession of whatever demands it might choose to make. Objectionable in itself, on account of the uncertainty and continual changes which it tended to introduce

into legislation, this system of temporary laws derived its worst character from the facilities which it afforded to the practice of 'tacking' together various legislative measures.

"A singular instance of this occurred in 1836, with respect to the renewal of the jury law, to which the Assembly attached great importance, and to which the Legislative Council felt a strong repugnance, on account of its having in effect placed the juries entirely in the hands of the French portion of the population. In order to secure the renewal of this law, the Assembly coupled it in the same bill by which it renewed the tolls of the Lachine Canal, calculating on the Council not venturing to defeat a measure of so much importance to the revenue as the latter by resisting the former. The council, however, rejected the bill; and thus the canal remained toll-free for a whole season, because the two Houses differed about a jury law."

So much for their attempts to subvert the constitution. Now let us inquire how far these

patriots were disinterested in their enactments. First, as to grants for local improvements, how were they applied? His lordship observes:—

“The great business of the Assemblies is, literally, parish business; the making parish roads and parish bridges. There are in none of these provinces any local bodies possessing authority to impose local assessments, for the management of local affairs. To do these things is the business of the Assembly; and to induce the Assembly to attend to the particular interests of each county, is the especial business of its county member. The surplus revenue of the province is swelled to as large an amount as possible, by cutting down the payment of public services to as low a scale as possible; and the real duties of government are, sometimes, insufficiently provided for, in order that more may be left to be divided among the constituent bodies. ‘When we want a bridge, we take a judge to build it,’ was the quaint and forcible way in which a member of a provincial legislature described the ten-

dency to retrench, in the most necessary departments of the public service, in order to satisfy the demands for local works. This fund is voted by the Assembly on the motion of its members ; the necessity of obtaining the previous consent of the Crown to money votes never having been adopted by the Colonial Legislatures from the practice of the British House of Commons. There is a perfect scramble among the whole body to get as much as possible of this fund for their respective constituents ; cabals are formed, by which the different members mutually play into each other's hands ; general politics are made to bear on private business, and private business on general politics ; and at the close of the Parliament, the member who has succeeded in securing the largest portion of the prize for his constituents, renders an easy account of his stewardship, with confident assurance of his re-election.

“ Not only did the leaders of the Lower Canadian Assembly avail themselves of the

patronage thus afforded, by the large surplus revenue of the province, but they turned this system to much greater account, by *using it to obtain influence over the constituencies.*

“ The majority of the Assembly of Lower Canada is accused by its opponents of having, in the most systematic and persevering manner, employed this means of corrupting the electoral bodies. The adherents of M. Papineau are said to have been lavish in their promises of the benefits which they could obtain from the Assembly for the county, whose suffrages they solicited. By such representations, the return of members of opposition politics is asserted, in many instances, to have been secured; and obstinate counties are alleged to have been sometimes starved into submission, by an entire withdrawal of grants, until they returned members favourable to the majority. Some of the English members who voted with M. Papineau, excused themselves to their countrymen by alleging that they were compelled to do so, in order to get a

road or a bridge, which their constituents desired. Whether it be true or false, that the abuse was ever carried to such a pitch, it is obviously one, which might have been easily and safely perpetrated by a person possessing M. Papineau's influence in the Assembly."

Next for the grants for public education.

"But the most bold and extensive attempt for erecting a system of patronage, wholly independent of the Government, was that which was, for some time, carried into effect by the grants for education made by the Assembly, and regulated by the Act, which the Legislative Council has been most bitterly reproached with refusing to renew. It has been stated, as a proof of the deliberate intention of the Legislative Council to crush every attempt to civilize and elevate the great mass of the people, that it thus stopped at once the working of about 1,000 schools, and deprived of education no less than 40,000 scholars, who were actually profiting by the means of instruction thus placed within their

reach. But the reasons which induced, or rather compelled, the Legislative Council to stop this system, are clearly stated in the Report of that body, which contains the most unanswerable justification of the course which it pursued. By that it appears, that the whole superintendence and patronage of these schools had, by the expired law, been vested in the hands of the county members ; and they had been allowed to manage the funds, without even the semblance of sufficient accountability. The Members of the Assembly had thus a patronage, in this single department, of about £25,000 per annum, an amount equal to half of the whole ordinary civil expenditure of the Province. They were not slow in profiting by the occasion thus placed in their hands ; and as there existed in the Province no sufficient supply of competent schoolmasters and mistresses, they nevertheless immediately filled up the appointments with persons who were *utterly and obviously incompetent*. *A great proportion of the teachers*

could neither read nor write. The gentleman whom I directed to inquire into the state of education in the Province, showed me a petition from certain schoolmasters, which had come into his hands ; and the majority of the signatures were those of *marks-men*. These ignorant teachers could convey no useful instruction to their pupils ; the utmost amount which they taught them was to say the Catechism by rote. Even within seven miles of Montreal, there was a schoolmistress thus unqualified. These appointments were, as might have been expected, jobbed by the members among the political partisans ; nor were the funds *very honestly* managed. In many cases the members were suspected, or accused, of misapplying them to their own use ; and in the case of Beauharnois, where the seigneur, Mr. Ellice, has, in the same spirit of judicious liberality by which his whole management of that extensive property has been marked, contributed most largely towards the education of his tenants, the school funds were proved to

have been misappropriated by the county member. The whole system was a gross political abuse ; and, however laudable we must hold the exertions of those who really laboured to relieve their country from the reproach of being the least furnished with the means of education of any on the North American continent, the more severely must we condemn those who sacrificed this noble end, and perverted ample means to serve the purposes of party."

We will now claim the support of his lordship upon another question, which is, how far is it likely that the law will be duly administered if the power is to remain in the hands of the French Canadian population ? Speaking of the Commissioners of Small Causes, his lordship observes—

" I shall only add, that some time previous to my leaving the Province, I was very warmly and forcibly urged, by the highest legal authorities in the country, to abolish all these tribunals at once, on the ground that a great many of them, being composed entirely of disaffected French

Canadians, were busily occupied in harassing loyal subjects, by entertaining actions against them on account of the part they had taken in the late insurrection. There is no appeal from their decision; and it was stated that they had in the most barefaced manner given damages against loyal persons for acts done in the discharge of their duty, and judgments by default against persons who were absent, as volunteers in the service of the Queen, and enforced their judgment by levying distresses on their property."

Relative to the greatest prerogative of an Englishman, the trial by jury, his lordship observes—

"But the most serious mischief in the administration of criminal justice, arises from the entire perversion of the institution of juries, by the political and national prejudices of the people. The trial by jury was introduced with the rest of the English criminal law. For a long time the composition of both grand and

petit juries was settled by the governor, and they were at first taken from the cities, which were the *chefs lieux* of the district. Complaints were made that this gave an undue preponderance to the British in those cities; though, from the proportions of the population, it is not very obvious how they could thereby obtain more than an equal share. In consequence, however, of these complaints, an order was issued under the government of Sir James Kempt, directing the sheriffs to take the juries not only from the cities, but from the adjacent country, for fifteen leagues in every direction. An Act was subsequently passed, commonly called 'Mr. Viger's Jury Act,' extending these limits to those of the district. The principle of taking the jury from the whole district to which the jurisdiction of the court extended, is, undoubtedly, in conformity with the principles of English law; and Mr. Viger's Act, adopting the other regulations of the English jury law, provided a fair selection of juries. But if we

consider the hostility and proportions of the two races, the practical effect of this law was to give the French an entire preponderance in the juries. This Act was one of the temporary Acts of the Assembly, and, having expired in 1836, the Legislative Council refused to renew it. Since that period, there has been no jury law whatever. The composition of the juries has been altogether in the hands of the Government: private instructions, however, have been given to the sheriff to act in conformity with Sir James Kempt's ordinance; but though he has always done so, the public have had no security for any fairness in the selection of the juries. There was no visible check on the sheriff; the public knew that he could pack a jury whenever he pleased, and supposed, as a matter of course, that an officer, holding a lucrative appointment at the pleasure of Government, would be ready to carry into effect those unfair designs which they were always ready to attribute to the Government. When I arrived in

the Province, the public were expecting the trials of the persons accused of participation in the late insurrection. I was, on the one hand, informed by the law officers of the Crown, and the highest judicial authorities, that not the slightest chance existed, under any fair system of getting a jury, that would convict any of these men, however clear the evidence of their guilt might be; and, on the other side, I was given to understand, that the prisoners and their friends supposed that, as a matter of course, they would be tried by packed juries, and that even the most clearly innocent of them would be convicted.

“It is, indeed, a lamentable fact which must not be concealed, that there does not exist in the minds of the people of this Province the slightest confidence in the administration of criminal justice; nor were the complaints, or the apparent grounds for them, confined to one party.

“The trial by jury is, therefore, at the present

moment, not only productive in Lower Canada of no confidence in the honest administration of the laws, but also provides impunity for every political offence."

I have made these long quotations from Lord Durham's Report as his lordship's authority, he having been sent out as Lord High Commissioner to the Province, to make the necessary inquiries, must carry more weight with the public than any observations of mine. All I can do is to assert that his lordship is very accurate; and, having made this assertion, I ask, what chance, therefore, is there of good government, if the power, or any portion of the power, be left in the hands of those who have in every way proved themselves so adverse to good government, and who have wound up such conduct by open rebellion.

The position of the Executive in Canada has, for a long while, been just what our position in this country would be if the House of Commons were composed of Chartist leaders. Every act

brought forward by them would tend to revolution, and be an infringement of the Constitution, and all that the House of Lords would have to do, would be firmly to reject every bill carried to the Upper House. If our House of Commons were filled with rebels and traitors, the Government must stand still, and such has been for these ten years the situation of the Canadian government; and, fortunate it is, that the outbreak has now put us in a position that will enable us to retrieve our error, and re-model the constitution of these Provinces. The questions which must therefore be settled previous to any fresh attempts at legislation for these Canadians, are,—are, or are not, the French population to have any share in it? Can they be trusted? Are they in any way deserving of it? In few words, are the Canadas to be hereafter considered as a French or an English colony?

When we legislate, unless we intend to change, we must look to futurity. The question, then, is not, who are the majority of to-day, but who

will hereafter be the majority in the Canadian Provinces ; for all agree upon one point, which is, that we must legislate for the majority. At present, the population is nearly equal, but every year increases the preponderance of the English ; and it is to be trusted that, by good management, and the encouragement of emigration, in half a century the French population will be so swallowed up by the English, as to be remembered but on record. If, again, we put the claims of British loyalty against the treason of the French—the English energy, activity, and capital, in opposition to the supineness, ignorance, and incapacity of the French population,—it is evident, that not only in justice and gratitude, but with a due regard to our own interests, the French Canadians must now be *wholly deprived* of any share of that power which they have abused, and that confidence of which they have proved themselves so unworthy. I am much pleased to find that Lord Durham has expressed the same opinion, in the following re-

marks ; and I trust their importance will excuse to the reader the length of the quotation.

“The English have already in their hands the majority of the larger masses of property in the country ; they have the decided superiority of intelligence on their side ; they have the certainty that colonization must swell their numbers to a majority ; and they belong to the race which wields the Imperial Government, and predominates on the American continent. If we now leave them in a minority, they will never abandon the assurance of being a majority hereafter, and never cease to continue the present contest with all the fierceness with which it now rages. In such a contest, they will rely on the sympathy of their countrymen at home ; and if that is denied them, they feel very confident of being able to awaken the sympathy of their neighbours of kindred origin. They feel that if the British Government intends to maintain its hold of the Canadas, it can rely on the English population alone ; that if it abandons

its colonial possessions, they must become a portion of that great Union which will speedily send forth its swarms of settlers, and, by force of numbers and activity, quickly master every other race. The French Canadians, on the other hand, are but the remains of an ancient colonization, and are and ever must be isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world. Whatever may happen, whatever government shall be established over them, British or American, they can see no hope for their nationality. They can only sever themselves from the British empire by waiting till some general cause of dissatisfaction alienates them, together with the surrounding colonies, and leaves them part of an English confederacy; or, if they are able, by effecting a separation singly, and so either merging in the American Union, or keeping up for a few years a wretched semblance of feeble independence, which would expose them more than ever to the intrusion of the surrounding population. I am far from wishing to encourage, in-

discriminately, these pretensions to superiority on the part of any particular race ; but while the greater part of every portion of the American continent is still uncleared and unoccupied, and while the English exhibit such constant and marked activity in colonization, so long will it be idle to imagine that there is any portion of that continent into which that race will not penetrate, or in which, when it has penetrated, it will not predominate. It is but a question of time and mode ; it is but to determine whether the small number of French who now inhabit Lower Canada shall be made English, under a government which can protect them, or whether the process shall be delayed until a much larger number shall have to undergo, at the rude hands of its uncontrolled rivals, the extinction of a nationality strengthened and embittered by continuance.

“ And is this French Canadian nationality one which, for the good merely of that people, we ought to strive to perpetuate, even if it were

possible? I know of no national distinctions marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority. The language, the laws, the character of the North American Continent are English ; and every race but the English (I apply this to all who speak the English language) appears there in a condition of inferiority. It is to elevate them from that inferiority that I desire to give to the Canadians our English character. I desire it for the sake of the educated classes, whom the distinction of language and manners keeps apart from the great empire to which they belong. At the best, the fate of the educated and aspiring colonist is, at present, one of little hope, and little activity ; but the French Canadian is cast still further into the shade, by a language and habits foreign to those of the Imperial Government. A spirit of exclusion has closed the higher professions on the educated classes of the French Canadians, more, perhaps, than was absolutely necessary ; but it is impossible for the utmost

liberality on the part of the British Government to give an equal position in the general competition of its vast population to those who speak a foreign language. I desire the amalgamation still more for the sake of the humbler classes. Their present state of rude and equal plenty is fast deteriorating under the pressure of population in the narrow limits to which they are confined. If they attempt to better their condition, by extending themselves over the neighbouring country, they will necessarily get more and more mingled with an English population; if they prefer remaining stationary, the greater part of them must be labourers in the employ of English capitalists. In either case it would appear, that the great mass of the French Canadians are doomed, in some measure, to occupy an inferior position, and to be dependent on the English for employment. The evils of poverty and dependence would merely be aggravated in a ten-fold degree, by a spirit of jealous and resentful nation-

ality, which should separate the working class of the community from the possessors of wealth and employers of labour.

“ I will not here enter into the question of the effect of the mode of life and division of property among the French Canadians, on the happiness of the people. I will admit, for the moment, that it is as productive of well-being as its admirers assert. But, be it good or bad, the period in which it is practicable, is past ; for there is not enough unoccupied land left in that portion of the country in which English are not already settled, to admit of the present French population possessing farms sufficient to supply them with their present means of comfort, under their present system of husbandry. No population has increased by mere births so rapidly as that of the French Canadians has since the conquest. At that period their number was estimated at 60,000 : it is now supposed to amount to more than seven times as many. There has been no proportional increase of cultivation, or of pro-

duce from the land already under cultivation ; and the increased population has been in a great measure provided for by mere continued subdivision of estates. In a Report from a Committee of the Assembly in 1826, of which Mr. Andrew Steuart was chairman, it is stated, that since 1784 the population of the seignories had quadrupled, while the number of cattle had only doubled, and the quantity of land in cultivation had only increased one-third. Complaints of distress are constant, and the deterioration of the condition of a great part of the population admitted on all hands. A people so circumstanced must alter their mode of life. If they wish to maintain the same kind of rude, but well-provided agricultural existence, it must be by removing into those parts of the country in which the English are settled ; or if they cling to their present residence, they can only obtain a livelihood by deserting their present employment, and working for wages on farms, or on commercial occupations under English capitalists.

But their present proprietary and inactive condition is one which no political arrangements can perpetuate. Were the French Canadians to be guarded from the influx of any other population, their condition in a few years would be similar to that of the poorest of the Irish peasantry.

“ There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people, than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history, and no literature. The literature of England is written in a language which is not theirs; and the only literature which their language renders familiar to them, is that of a nation from which they have been separated by eighty years of a foreign rule, and still more by those changes which the Revolution and its consequences have wrought in the whole political, moral, and social state of France. Yet it is on

a people whom recent history, manners, and modes of thought, so entirely separate from them, that the French Canadians are wholly dependent for almost all the instruction and amusement derived from books: it is on this essentially foreign literature, which is conversant about events, opinions and habits of life, perfectly strange and unintelligible to them, that they are compelled to be dependent. Their newspapers are mostly written by natives of France, who have either come to try their fortunes in the province, or been brought into it by the party leaders, in order to supply the dearth of literary talent available for the political press. In the same way their nationality operates to deprive them of the enjoyments and civilizing influence of the arts. Though descended from the people in the world that most generally love, and have most successfully cultivated the drama—though living on a continent, in which almost every town, great or small, has an English theatre, the French population of

Lower Canada, cut off from every people that speak its own language, can support no national stage.

“ In these circumstances, I should be indeed surprised if the more reflecting part of the French Canadians entertained at present any hope of continuing to preserve their nationality. Much as they struggle against it, it is obvious that the process of assimilation to English habits is already commencing. The English language is gaining ground, as the language of the rich and of the employers of labour naturally will. It appeared by some of the few returns, which had been received by the Commissioner of Inquiry into the state of education, that there are about ten times the number of French children in Quebec learning English, as compared with the English children who learn French. A considerable time must, of course, elapse before the change of a language can spread over a whole people; and justice and policy alike require,

that while the people continue to use the French language, their government should take no such means to force the English language upon them as would, in fact, deprive the great mass of the community of the protection of the laws. But, I repeat, that the alteration of the character of the province ought to be immediately entered on, and firmly, though cautiously, followed up; that in any plan, which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English province; and that, with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population. Indeed, at the present moment, this is obviously necessary: in the state of mind in which I have described the French Canadian population, as not only now being, but as likely for a long while to remain, the trusting them with an entire control over this province would be, in fact, only facilitating a rebellion. Lower Canada must be

governed now, as it must be hereafter, by an English population ; and thus the policy, which the necessities of the moment force on us, is in accordance with that suggested by a comprehensive view of the future and permanent improvement of the province."

CHAPTER VI.

I HAVE quoted largely from Lord Durham's Report, as in most points relative to *Lower Canada*, especially as to the causes which produced the rebellion, the unwarrantable conduct of the Legislative Assembly, and his opinions as to the character of the French Canadians, I consider that the remarks are correct : they are corroborated by my own opinions and observations : but I think that the information he has received relative to *Upper Canada* is not only very imperfect, but certainly derived from parties who were not to be trusted : take one simple instance. His lordship says in his Report, that the petitioners in favour of Mathews and Lount, who were executed, amounted to 30,000, whereas it is established, that the whole number of sig-

natures only amounted to 4,574. Those who deceive his lordship in one point would deceive him in another ; indeed his lordship had a task of peculiar difficulty, going out as he did, vested with such powers, and the intents of his mission being so well known. It is not those who are in high office that are likely to ascertain the truth, which is much more likely to be communicated to a humble individual like myself, who travels through a country and hears what is said on both sides. The causes stated by his lordship for discontent in Upper Canada are not correct. I have before said, and I repeat it, that they may almost be reduced to the following : the check put upon their enterprize and industry by the acts of the Lower Canadian Assembly ; and the favour shewn to the French by the Colonial Office, aided by the machinations of the American party, who fomented any appearance of discontent.

There is in his lordship's Report, an apparent leaning towards the United States, and its in-

stitutions, at which I confess that I am surprised. Why his lordship, after shewing that the representative government did all they possibly could to overthrow the constitution, should propose an increase of power to that representative government, unless, indeed, he would establish a democracy in the provinces, I am at a loss to imagine.

That a representative body similar to that which attempted to overturn the constitution in Lower Canada can work well, and even usefully reform when in the hands of loyal English subjects, is acknowledged by his lordship, who says, "the course of the Parliamentary contest in Upper Canada has not been marked by that singular neglect of the great duties of a legislative body, which I have remarked in the proceedings of the Parliament of Lower Canada. The statute book of the Upper Province abounds with useful and well-constructed measures of reform, and presents an honourable contrast to that of the Lower Province."

Indeed, unless I have misunderstood his lord-

ship he appears to be inconsistent, for in one portion he claims the extension of the power of the representative, and in another he complains of the want of vigorous administration of the royal prerogative, for he says :—

“The defective system of administration in Lower Canada, commences at the very *source* of power ; and the efficiency of the public service is impaired throughout by the entire want in the colony of any vigorous administration of the prerogative of the crown.”

To increase the power of the representative is to increase the power of the people, in fact to make them the *source* of power ; and yet his lordship in this sentence acknowledges that the crown is the *source* of power, and that a more vigorous administration of its prerogative is required.

There are other points commented upon in his lordship's Report, which claim earnest consideration : one is, that of the propriety of municipal institutions. Local improvements, when left in

the hands of representative assemblies, are seldom judicious or impartial, and should therefore be made over either to the inhabitants or executive. The system of townships has certainly been one great cause of the prosperity of the United States, each township taxing itself for its own improvement. Although the great roads extending through the whole of the Union are in the hands of the Federal Government, and the States Government take up the improvement on an extensive scale in the States themselves, the townships, knowing exactly what they require, tax themselves for their minor advantages. The system in England is much the same, although perhaps not so well regulated as in America. Are not, however, municipal institutions valuable in another point of view? Do they not prepare the people for legislating? are they not the rudiments of legislation by which a free people learn to tax themselves? And indeed, it may also be asked, would not the petty influence and authority confided to those who are ambitious by their

townsmen satisfy their ambition, and prevent them from becoming demagogues and disturbing the country?

Whatever may be the future arrangements for ruling these provinces, it appears to me that there are two great evils in the present system; one is, that the governors of the provinces have not sufficient discretionary power, and the other, that they are so often removed. The evils arising from the first cause have been pointed out in Lord Durham's Report:—

“The complete and unavoidable ignorance in which the British public, and even the great body of its legislators, are with respect to the real interests of distant communities, so entirely different from their own, produces a general indifference, which nothing but some great colonial crisis ever dispels; and responsibility to Parliament, or to the public opinion of Great Britain, would, except on these great and rare occasions, be positively mischievous, if it were not impossible. The repeated changes caused

by political events at home having no connexion with colonial affairs, have left, to most of the various representatives of the Colonial Department in Parliament, too little time to acquire even an elementary knowledge of the condition of those numerous and heterogeneous communities for which they have had both to administer and legislate. The persons with whom the real management of these affairs has or ought to have rested, have been the permanent but utterly irresponsible members of the office. Thus the real government of the colony has been entirely dissevered from the slight nominal responsibility which exists. Apart even from this great and primary evil of the system, the presence of multifarious business thus thrown on the Colonial Office, and the repeated changes of its ostensible directors, have produced disorders in the management of public business which have occasioned serious mischief, and very great irritation. This is not my own opinion merely ; for I do but repeat that of a select committee of the

House of Assembly in Upper Canada, who, in a Report dated February 8, 1838, say, ' It appears to your committee, that one of the chief causes of dissatisfaction with the administration of colonial affairs arises from the frequent changes in the office of secretary of state, to whom the Colonial department is intrusted. Since the time the late Lord Bathurst retired from that charge, in 1827, your committee believe there has not been less than eight colonial ministers, and that the policy of each successive statesman has been more or less marked by a difference from that of his predecessor. This frequency of change in itself almost necessarily entails two evils ; *first*, an imperfect knowledge of the affairs of the colonies on the part of the chief secretary, and the consequent necessity of submitting important details to the subordinate officers of the department ; and, *second*, the want of stability and firmness in the general policy of the Government, and which, of course, creates much uneasiness on the part of the Go-

vernors, and other officers of the colonies, as to what measures may be approved.

“ ‘ But undoubtedly (continues the Report) by far the greatest objection to the system is the impossibility it occasions of any colonial minister, unaided by persons possessing local knowledge, becoming acquainted with the wants, wishes, feelings, and prejudices of the inhabitants of the colonies, during his temporary continuance in office, and of deciding satisfactorily upon the conflicting statements and claims that are brought before him. A firm, unflinching resolution to adhere to the principles of the constitution, and to maintain the just and necessary powers of the crown, would do much towards supplying the want of local information. But it would be performing more than can be reasonably expected from human sagacity, if any man, or set of men, should always decide in an unexceptionable manner on subjects that have their origin thousands of miles from the seat of the Imperial Government, where they reside,

and of which they have no personal knowledge whatever ; and therefore wrong may be often done to individuals, or a false view taken of some important political question, that in the end may throw a whole community into difficulty and dissension, not from the absence of the most anxious desire to do right, but from an imperfect knowledge of facts upon which to form an opinion.' ”

This is all very true. There is nothing so difficult as to legislate for a colony from home. The very best theory is useless ; it requires that you should be on the spot, and adapt your measures to the circumstances and the growing wants of the country. I may add that it is wrong for the Home Government to consider the government given to the colony as permanent. All that the mother-country can do is to give it one which, in theory, appears best adapted to secure the true freedom and happiness of the people ; but leaving that form of government to be occasionally modified, so as to meet the

changes which the colony may require, and to conform with its wants and its rising interests : all of which being unforeseen could not be provided for by the prescience of man. The governor, therefore, of a colony should be invested with more discretionary power.

The constant removal of the governor from the colony is also much to be deprecated. On his first arrival, he can only have formed theoretical views, which, in all probability, he will have to discard in a few months. He finds himself surrounded by people in office, interested in their own peculiar policy, and viewing things through their own medium. In all colonies you will usually find an oligarchy, cemented by mutual interest and family connection, and so bound up together as to become formidable if opposed to the Government. Into the hands of these people a governor must, to a certain degree, fall; and must remain in them until he has had time to see clearly and to judge for himself. But by the time that he has just disenthralled himself, he is

removed, and another appointed in his place, and the work has to commence *de novo*.

Lord Durham has proposed that the Canadas should be united, and there certainly are some benefits which would arise *could* their union take place. He asserts most positively that the French party must be annihilated. He says:—"It must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population, with English laws and language in this province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English legislature." This is plain and clear; but how is it to be effected? The land of Lower Canada is still in the hands of the French, and nearly five hundred thousand out of six hundred thousand of the population are French.

How, then, are we to make the Lower Canadas English? We may buy up the seigneuries; we may insist upon the English language being used in the Assembly and courts of law, in public documents, &c.; we may alter

the laws to correspond with those of the mother-country ; but will that make the province English ? We may even insist that none but English-born subjects, or Canadian-born English, shall be elected to the House of Assembly, or hold any public office ; but will that make the province English ? Certainly not. There is no want of English-born demagogues, as well as French, in the province. The elections of the Lower province are decided by the Canadian French, who are in the majority, and they would find no difficulty in obtaining representatives who would continue the former system of controlling the executive and advocating rebellion. Is it, then, by altogether taking away from the Canadian French the elective franchise and giving it entirely into the hands of the English, that the province is to be made English ? If so, although I admit the French have proved themselves undeserving, and have by their rebellion forfeited their birth-right, you then place them in the situation of an injured,

oppressed, and sacrificed people ; reducing them to a state of slavery which, notwithstanding their offences, would still be odious to the present age. By what means, therefore, does his lordship intend that the province shall become English—by immigration ? That requires time ; and before the immigration necessary can take place the Canadas may be again thrown into a rebellion by the French machinations. In our future legislation for the Canadas, we must always bear in mind that the French population will be opposed to the Government and to the mother-country ; and that there is no chance of a better state of feeling in the Lower province until they shall become amalgamated and swallowed up by British immigration. Until that takes place, the union of the Canadas will only create a conflict between the two races, as opposed to each other as fire and water, and nearly equal in numbers. It will be an immense cauldron, bubbling, steaming, and boiling over—an incessant scene of strife and irritation—a source of anxiety and expense to

the mother-country, and, so far from going a-head, I should not be surprised if, in twenty years hence, the English population should be found to be smaller than it now is. Political dissensions would paralyse enterprize, frighten away capital, and, in all probability, involve us in a conflict with the United States. Until, therefore, I understand how the Lower Province is to become British, I cannot think a union between the Canadas advisable.

Whether his lordship is aware of it or not, I cannot say; but there appears to me to be a strong inclination to democracy in all his proposed plans, and an evident leaning towards the institutions of the United States. He wishes to make the Executive Government responsible to the people; he would make one Federal Union of all our provinces, and institute the Supreme Court of Appeal which they have in the United States. In short, change but the word governor for president, and we should have the American constitution,

and a "free and enlightened people;"—that is to say, the French Canadians, who can *neither read nor write*, governing themselves.

So far from a Federal union between all our transatlantic possessions being advisable, I should think, from their contiguity with the Americans, that it would be advisable to keep them separate. I am of the same opinion respecting the Canadas. I consider that, even as two provinces, they are too vast in territory already. Whether it be a woman looking after her servants and household affairs, or a captain commanding a ship, or a governor ruling over a province, large or small as may be the scale of operation, one of the most important points in good legislation, is the *eye*. A governor of a vast province cannot possibly be aware of the wants of the various portions of the province. He is obliged to take the reports of others, and consequently very often legislates unadvisedly.

That the two provinces cannot remain in their present state is acknowledged by all. The

question therefore is, can we rationally expect any improvement from their union? Perhaps it may appear presumptuous in me to venture to differ from Lord Durham, who is a statesman born and bred—for this is not a party question in which a difference of politics may bias one: it is a question as to the well-governing of a most important colony, and no one will for a moment doubt that his lordship is as anxious as the Duke of Wellington, and every other well-wisher to his country, to decide upon that which he considers honestly and honourably to be the best. It is really, therefore, with great deference that I submit to him, whether another arrangement should not be well considered, before the union of the two provinces is finally decided upon.

His lordship has very truly observed, that in legislating, we are to legislate for futurity; if not, we must be prepared for change. Acting upon this sound principle, we are to legislate upon the supposition that the whole country of Upper and Lower Canada *is* well peopled. We

are not to legislate for the present population, but for the future. And how is this to be done in the present condition of the provinces? Most assuredly by legislating for territory—for the amount of square acres which will eventually be filled up by emigration. I perfectly agree with his lordship in the remark that “if the Canadians are to be deprived of their representative government, it would be better to do it in a straightforward way;” but I submit that it would be done in a straightforward way by the plan I am about to submit to him, and I consider it more advisable than that of convulsing the two provinces by bringing together two races so inveterate against each other. Instead of a union of the two provinces, I should think it more advisable to separate the Canadas into three: Upper, Lower, and Middle Canada,—the line of demarcation, and the capitals of each Province appearing already to be marked out. The Lower province would have Quebec, and be separated from the Middle province by the Ottawa

river. The Middle province would have Montreal, and would extend to a line drawn from Lake Simcoe to Lake Ontario, throwing into it *all the townships on the American side of the St. Lawrence*, which would do away with the great objection of the Upper province being dependent upon the Lower for the transport of goods up the river, and the necessity of dividing between the provinces the custom-house revenues. Under any circumstances, it would be very advantageous to have a port of entry and a custom-house, in or nearer to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as ships would then be able to make an extra voyage every year. I should say that about Gaspé would be the spot. This bay being on the American side of the river St. Lawrence would become the entry port for the Upper and Middle provinces, rendering them wholly independent of the Lower. The Upper province would comprehend all the rest of the territory west of the line, drawn from Lake Superior, and have Toronto for its capital. This would be a pretty fair division of territory,

and each province would be more than sufficient for the eye of the most active governor. Let each province have its separate *sub-governor* and House of Assembly ; but let the Upper House, or Senate, be selected of *equal numbers* from *each* province, and assemble at Quebec, to decide, with the *Governor-in-chief of the provinces*, upon the passing or rejecting of the bills of the three respective Lower Houses. This, although perfectly fair, would at once give in the *Senate* the preponderance to the English of the Upper and Middle provinces. It would still leave to the Lower Canadians their franchise ; and their House of Assembly would be a species of safety-valve for the demagogues to give vent to their opinions, (without their being capable of injuring the interests of the provinces,) until they gradually amalgamated with the British immigration. I merely offer this plan as a suggestion to his lordship, and, of course, enter into no further detail.

There are, however, one or two other points

which appear to me to be worthy of consideration. If the Canadas are of that importance which I think them, there are no means which we should not use to attach them to the mother-country—to make them partial to monarchical institutions—and to *identify* them with the British empire. We should make sacrifices for them that we would not for other colonies; and therefore it is that I venture my opinion, that it would not only be politic, but just, to such an extensive territory—and what will eventually be, such an extensive population—to permit each of the three provinces, (provided they are ever divided into three,) to select one of their senate to represent them in the British House of Commons. I consider it but an act of justice as well as of policy. This step would, as I said before, *identify* these valuable provinces with ourselves. They then would feel that they were not merely ruled by, but that they were part and portion of, and assisted in, the government of the British empire. And to

draw the line as strictly as possible between them and their democratic neighbours, and to attach them still closer to monarchical institutions, it should be proposed to the Sovereign of these realms that an Order of knighthood and an Order of merit expressly Canadian should be instituted. These last may be considered by many to be, and perhaps in themselves are, trifles; but they are no trifles when you consider that they must militate against those democratic feelings of equality which have been so industriously and so injuriously circulated in the provinces by our transatlantic descendants. I cannot better conclude these observations than by quoting the opinion of so intelligent a nobleman as Lord Durham, who asserts most positively that "England, if she loses her North American colonies, must sink into a second-rate power."

CHAPTER VII.

INDIANS.

THERE was no subject of higher interest to me during my travels in North America, than the past and present condition of the Indian tribes. Were I to enter into the history of the past, I could easily fill three or four volumes with matter which I think would be found very well worth perusing. It is to be lamented that there has been no correct history of the Indian tribes yet published. There are many authors in America well calculated to undertake the task ; and the only reason which I can give for its not having been already done, is that, probably, the American Government are not very willing to open the archives of the Indian department even to their own countrymen ; and, at the same that time, an American author, who would

adhere to the truth, would not become very popular by exposing the system of rapine and injustice which was commenced by the English who first landed, and has been continued up to the present day by the Federal Government of the United States. Nevertheless, it is to be lamented, now that the race is so fast disappearing, that a good historical account of them is not published. There is no want of material for the purpose, even if the Government refuse their aid; but at present, it is either scattered in various works, or when attempted to be collected together, the author has not been equal to the task.

There is a question which has been raised by almost every traveller in America, and that is—from whom are the American Indians descended? and I think, from the many works I have consulted, that the general opinion is, that they are descended from the lost tribes of Israel. We have never discovered any other

nation of savages, if we may apply such a term to the American Indians, who have not been idolators; the American Indian is the only one who worships the one living God. In a discourse, which was delivered by Mr. Noah, one of the most intelligent of the Jewish nation that I ever had the pleasure of being acquainted with, there is much deep research, and a collection of the various opinions upon this subject. To quote from it would not do it justice, and I have therefore preferred, as it is not long, giving the whole of it in the Appendix, as it is not (though should be more) generally known. In the second volume I have given a map of North America, in which I have laid down, as correctly as I can, and sufficiently so for the purpose, the supposed locations of the various tribes, at the period that the White man first put his foot on shore in America. I have said "as correctly as I can," for it would be as difficult to trace the outer edges of a shifting sand-bank under water, as to lay down

the exact portion of territory occupied by tribes who were continually at war, and who advanced or retreated according as they were victorious or vanquished. Indeed, many tribes were totally annihilated, or their remnants incorporated into others, living far away from their original territories: the Tuscororas, for instance, were driven out of Carolina and admitted into the Mohawk confederacy, which originally came down from the upper shores of the river St. Lawrence. The Winnebagoes, also, were driven from the south, and settled on the river Wisconsin. The Sacs and Foxes fought their way from the river St. Lawrence to the Fox river, in Wisconsin, and were driven from thence, by the Menomonies and Chippewas, to the territory of Rock river, on the river Mississippi, where they remained, until deprived of their territory by the Federal Government, and sent away to the west of the river. I make these observations that the map may not be cavilled at by some hypocritic, who has thought that he has discovered

a mare's nest ; it is as accurate as I can make it, and I profess to do no more.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes which continually occurred, the tribes of North American Indians may be classed as follows :—

The Algonquin stock of the North—under which are comprehended the Chippewas, Ottawas, Menomonies, Hurons, &c.

The Southern tribes, who are also descended from one stock, and comprise Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Catawbaws, Chickasaws, &c.

The *Horse* Indians of the West, as the Pawnees, Osages, Sioux, Kansas, Cumanches, &c.

The Indians of the Rocky Mountains, as Crows, Snakes, and Blackfeet.

All the above races were composed of numerous tribes, who acknowledged themselves as blood relations, but did not enter into any confederacy for mutual support ; on the contrary, often warred they with each other. There were other powerful tribes, which resided between the lakes and the Ohio, bordering on the hunting

grounds of Kentucky and Tennessee, which portion appeared to be set aside, by general consent, not only for hunting but for war. There were Delawares, or Lenni-Lenape, the Shawnees, Wyandots, Illinois, Peoria, and some others.

The *confederate* tribes, and with which the early settlers had to contend, were as follows:—

The Powhatan confederacy, comprising the Monacans, Monahoacs, and Powhatans, occupying the present state of Virginia from the sea-coast to the Alleghany mountains.

The New England confederacy, who resided in the present States of New England, composed of the Pequots, Narangassets, Pawtuckets, Pokanokets, and Massachusetts tribes.

And lastly, the confederacy of the five nations, or Mohawks, called Mingos by the other Indians, and Iroquois by the French. This confederacy was composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Caguyas, Onandagas, and Senecas. The Tuscaroras were afterwards admitted as a sixth.

I will make a few brief observations upon the

various tribes, in the order I have set them down.

The Algonquin stock has suffered less than any other, simply because they have been located so far north, and their lands have not been required. The Chippewas are at present the most numerous tribe of Indians. The most celebrated chief of this stock was Pontiac, an Ottawa. After the Canadas were given up to the English, he proved a most formidable enemy; he attempted and, to a certain degree, succeeded in uniting the tribes against us, and had not his plot been discovered, would, in all probability, have wrested from us Detroit, and every other post in our possession on the lakes. But Pontiac could not keep up a standing army, which was so contrary to the habits of the Indians; one by one the tribes deserted him, and sued for peace. Pontiac would not listen to any negotiations: he retired to Illinois, and was murdered by a Peoria Indian. The Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatamies, who fought under him,

avenged his death by the extermination of nearly the whole tribe of Peorias. Pontiac was one of the greatest Indians in history.

Of the Southern tribes there are not any records sufficiently prominent for so short a notice.

The Horse Indians of the West and those of the Rocky Mountains are scarcely known.

The Midland tribes produced some great men. The Delawares were at one period the most celebrated. The Shawanees, or Shawnees, do not appear to have been opposed to the Whites, until Boone and his adventurers crossed the Alleghanies, and took possession of the valley of Kentucky. But the Shawnees have to boast of Tecumseh, a chief, as great in renown as Pontiac; he also attempted to confederate all the tribes and drive away the Whites; his history is highly interesting. He fell in battle fighting for the English, in the war of 1814.

The *confederate tribes* on the eastern coast, were those with which the first settlers were embroiled. The history of Virginia is remark-

able for one of the most singular romances in real life which ever occurred : I allude to Pocahontas, the daughter of the king of the Powhatans, who saved the life of the enterprizing Captain Smith, at the imminent risk of her own. The romance was not, however, wound up by their marriage, Captain Smith not being a marrying man ; but she afterwards married a young Englishman, of the name of Randolph, was brought to England, received at court, and paid much attention to by Queen Anne. Some of the first families in Virginia proudly and justly claim their descent from this noble girl.

The New England Confederacy was opposed to the pilgrim fathers and their descendants. The chief tribe, the Wampanoags, have to boast of the third great chief among the Indian tribes —King Philip. His history is well known ; I have already referred to it in my Diary.

If the reader will consult the histories of Philip, Pontiac and Tecumseh, who may fairly be said to have been “ great men,” he will perceive

that in each case, these chiefs were the life and soul of enterprize and action, and that it was by their talents, bravery, and activity, that the tribes were confederated and led against the Whites. As soon as they were gone, there were none who could succeed them or fill up their places, and the confederacies were immediately broken up. But this was not the case with the celebrated five nations, or Mohawks, who, like the Romans of former days, spread their conquests until their name was a terror wherever it was mentioned. Philip, Pontiac and Tecumseh were great men, but the Mohawks' confederacy was a nation of great men. When the French settled in Canada in 1603, the Mohawks, or Iroquois as they called them, were living near to where Montreal now stands. They were at war with the Adirondacks, a very numerous and powerful nation, and were beaten down towards the Lakes; but they recovered themselves, and their opponents were in their turn beaten down to Quebec. The war between the Adirondacks and the Iroquois is

full of the most interesting details of courage on both sides. The Iroquois having subdued, and, indeed, exterminated the Adirondacks, turned their arms against several other tribes, whom they vanquished ; they then attacked the Ottawas and Hurons, and drove them to the other side of the Mississippi. The Illinois were next subdued, then the Miamies and Shawnees were driven back for the time. Finally, they conquered the Virginian tribes, and warred against the Cherokees, Catawbas, and other nations of the South. Although it was impossible for them to hold the vast extent of country which they had overrun, still it is certain that their very name was so terrible that, from New England to the Mississippi, every town and village would be deserted at their approach.

The chief portion of the Mohawks, under their celebrated leader Brandt, served on the British side in the war of Independence, and at the close of the war, they settled in lands given them by the English, on the banks of Grand river in

Canada in the year 1783. At the time they took possession of their land, their numbers amounted to nearly 8,000 ; but, as is every where the case where the Indians are settled and confined on reserved lands, they have now decreased to about 2,500. A portion of the tribe of Senecas, one of the Mohawk confederacy, joined the Americans ; the remnants of them are still located a few miles from Buffalo, in the State of New York. Their chief, Red-jacket, died lately ; he was a great warrior and still greater orator.

The most formidable opponents to the five nations were the Delawares, or Lenni Lenape, who lived in Pennsylvania. The Delawares joined the British in the war of Independence.

In the succeeding chapter, I shall give the reader a census of the American Indian tribes which still remain. It will be perceived that they are chiefly comprised of tribes which inhabited the Far-West, and were until lately, almost unknown. Of the New England and Virginian confederacies, once so powerful, not a vestige

remains; of the Delawáres, 826 still exist west of the Mississippi; of the Shawanees, or Shawnees, once so terrible on the banks of the Ohio, 1,272. In fact, all those Indians whose territory bounded the coast first taken possession of by the White men, have been annihilated. I have often heard it argued, when I was in the United States, that the Indians could not be considered as having any claim to the land, as they did not settle or cultivate it, and it is a general opinion that they lived almost entirely by the proceeds of the chase: but this is not a fact; indeed it is disproved by the early settlers themselves, who acknowledge that if they had not been supplied with corn by the Indians they must have starved. That the Indians did not grow more than was sufficient for their own consumption is very probable, but that they did cultivate the land is most certain; indeed, when the country and soil were favourable, they appear to have cultivated to a great extent. When General Wayne destroyed the settlements of the Miamies and Wyandots, on the Miami

river, in 1794, he says in his despatch, "never have I beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America as possessed by these Indians." The chase was considered by the Indians as a preparatory school for warriors, and was followed accordingly ; indeed, a hunting party and a war party were often one and the same thing, as the hunting grounds were common, and when tribes who were at variance fell in with each other, a conflict invariably ensued. My limits will not permit me to enter into the subject more fully ; my object has been, in as few pages as possible, to assist the map in giving the reader some idea of the location of the Aborigines of America. If he would know more of this interesting people, there are many very excellent works concerning them written by Americans, which, were they collected together, would form a most valuable and important history

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIANS.

I WILL now enter into a short examination of the present position of the remaining Indian tribes. The plan of the American Government has been to compel them to sell their lands and remove west of the Mississippi, to lands of which I doubt that the Americans have any right to claim an acre. That the removal of them is expedient I grant, and that is all that can be said on the subject. That the Indians were fated to melt away before the white men, like snow before the sun, is true ; still, it is painful to consider what has taken place from the period of our first landing, when we were received hospitably—saved from starvation by the generous sacrifice of their small stores of grain—permitted to settle upon a small tract of land

humbly solicited—and that from the time that the white men once gained a footing on their shores, the Indians have been hunted like wild beasts from hill to hill, from river to river, and from country to country, until nearly the whole of the vast continent may be said to have been wrested from them. This system is still continued, one tribe being forced back westward upon another, till they come into conflict with, and destroy, each other; but the buffalo and other animals, upon which they depend for food, recede with them and gradually disappear. As Christians, we must lament that the track for the advance of Christianity is cleared away by a series of rapine, cruelty, and injustice, at which every one must shudder.

The following is the Report to the American Government, of the various tribes of Indians remaining in the year 1837. It is divided into three parts.

Statement showing the number of Indians now east of the Mississippi; of those that have emigrated from the east to the west of that river; and those within striking distance of the Western frontier.

1.—*Name and number of the tribes now east of the Mississippi.*

1.—Under treaty stipulations to remove west of the Mississippi.

Winnebagoes	4,500	
Ottawas of Ohio	100	
Pottawatamies of Indiana	2,950	
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies	1,500	
Cherokees	14,000	
Creeks	1,000	
Chickasaws	1,000	
Seminoles	5,000	
Appalachicolas	400	
Ottawas and Chippewas in the Peninsula of Michigan	6,500	
		<hr/> 36,950

2.—Not under treaty stipulations to remove.

New York Indians	4,176	
Wyandots	575	
Miamies	1,100	
Menomonies	4,000	
Ottawas and Chippewas of the lakes	2,564	
		<hr/> 12,415
		<hr/> 49,365

2.—*Number of Indians who have emigrated from the
east to the west of the Mississippi.*

Chickasaws	549
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies	2,191
Choctaws	15,000
Quapaws	476
Creeks	20,437
Seminoles	407
Appalachicolas	265
Cherokees	7,911
Kickapoos	588
Delawares	826
Shawnees	1,272
Ottawas	374
Weas	222
Piankeshaws	162
Peorias and Kaskaskias	132
Pottawatamies of Indiana	53
Senecas	251
Senecas and Shawnees	211
Total	<hr/> 51,327 <hr/>

3.—*Number of the Indigenous Tribes within striking distance of the Western frontier.*

Sioux	21,600
Iowas	1,500
Sacs	4,800
Foxes	1,600
Sacs of the Missouri	500
Osages	5,120
Kansas.....	1,606
Omahas	1,600
Ottoes and Missouriias	1,000
Pawnees	12,500
Camanches	19,200
Kioways	1,800
Mandans	3,200
Quapaws	450
Minatarees	2,000
Pagans.....	30,000
Assinaboins	15,000
Appaches	20,280
Crees	3,000
Arrepahas	3,000
Gros-Ventres	16,800
Eutaws	19,200
Crows	7,200
Caddoes	2,000
Poncas.....	900
Arickarees	2,750
Cheyennes	3,200
Blackfeet	30,000
Total	<u>231,806</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Number of Indians now east of the Mississippi	49,365
Number of Indians who have emigrated from east to west side	51,327
Number of indigenous tribes	231,806
Aggregate	<u>332,498</u>

Estimated number of warriors.

Whole number of Indians	332,498
Assuming that every fifth one may be considered a warrior (and this is believed to be a reasonable supposition), the number of warriors will be.....	66,499

War Department,

Office of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1837.

C. A. HARRIS,

Commissioner.

This force of the Indians, if ever they combined, would be very formidable, and they might certainly sweep away the whole white population west of the Mississippi. That there will hereafter be an attempt of that kind is very probable, as hunger must eventually drive them to it; but any success in their attempt must depend very much upon their leaders, and the possibility of combi-

nation. It certainly *appears* to have been an oversight on the part of the American Government, to concentrate the whole of the Indians upon their frontiers in the way which they have done ; still they could not well have acted otherwise. The removal of the Cherokees has been the most hazardous part of their proceeding, as they are very superior people ; and should the other tribes put themselves under their directions, they would be formidable enemies. There is another circumstance which may render the Indians more serious enemies, which is, that they, having been located on the prairie country, have become Horse Indians, instead of what is termed Wood Indians, and they have a vast country behind them to retreat to in case of necessity. I do not think, however, that there is, at present, much fear to be felt relative to the Indians, although the Cherokees, the Sioux, and some other powerful tribes openly declare their hostile intentions as soon as an opportunity offers for carrying them into execu-

tion. That opportunity will not offer unless America is plunged into war with France or this country, and then I am pretty confident that there will be a general rising of the Indians; when, whether they act in concert or not, they will give the Americans more occupation than will be agreeable. The American Government have not been insensible to the danger to which they are exposed from this quarter, and, in 1837, the reports of military men were sent into Congress as to the best plan of protecting their frontier. Whether those reports are intended to be acted upon I know not; but if so, the present regular army of the United States will not be sufficient for the purpose, the lowest estimation for the garrisons of the proposed forts being 7,000 rank and file, while at present their rank and file on the army-list only amounts to 5,600.

The American forts opposed to the Indians are, at present :

Fort Gratiot, River St. Clare.

Mackinaw Island Fort.

Fort Brady, St. Marie, Lake Superior.

Fort Howard, Green Bay.

Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin.

Fort Crawford. Prairie des Chiens.

Fort Snelling, St. Peters.

Fort Leavenworth, Missouri.

Fort Madison, Des Moines River.

Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

}
Lakes.

Advanced Forts.

Fort Towson, Red River.

Fort Gibson, Arkansas and Grand Junction River.

Fort Adams, Baton Rouge.

There are one or two outposts also on the Arkansas River. If all these forts were properly garrisoned, they would take every disposable musket in the regular army of the United States; whilst at present they have, in consequence

of the protracted Florida war, scarcely sufficient men to do the duty.

In the report of the acting quarter-master general, the following garrisons are proposed for the western frontier :—

Fort Snelling	300 men.
Fort Crawford.....	300
Upper forks of the Des Moines	400
Fort Leavenworth	1,200
Fort Gibson	1,500
Fort Towson	800
The eight posts of refuge proposed...	800
The protection of the four depôts ...	200
Jefferson barracks, as a corps of re-	
serve	1,500
Total	<u>7,000</u>

To which must be added, for the garrisons of the five Lakes forts, 1,500 at least, making the force necessary for the protection of the boundaries, to amount to 8,500 men. Colonel

Gratiot, in his report, computes the force necessary at 12,910 men.

The letter of Mr. Poinsett to Congress will throw much light upon this subject, and I shall therefore insert it.

“ Department of War,

“ December 30, 1837.

“ Sir :—In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives, in relation to the protection of the western frontiers of the United States, I have the honour to transmit the accompanying reports of the chief engineer and the acting quarter-master general, together with a report of the commissioner of Indian affairs. That expected from General Gaines will be sent as soon as it is received.

“ In presenting these documents, which are ably drawn up, and contain full and satisfactory information on all the topics embraced by the resolution, I might have considered my duty fully discharged, had not other plans been pre-

viously recommended, which I regard as entirely inefficient, but which have received, in some measure, the sanction of Congress. A survey has been directed to determine the line of a road, which, it is contemplated, shall extend from some point of the Upper Mississippi to Red River, passing west of Missouri and Arkansas; and it is proposed to place a cordon of temporary posts of ordinary construction along it, as a sufficient measure for the defence of that part of the country. In pursuance of the orders of Congress, officers have been appointed to perform that duty, and, upon their report being received, measures will be taken to carry into effect the intentions of Congress, unless, upon a deliberate review of the whole matter, some more eligible plan of defence shall be adopted. My own opinion has been, from the time I first considered the subject, that such a chain of posts, strung along the best road that can be constructed, furnished with all the means to operate, and with competent garrisons to occupy them, is not cal-

culated to afford that protection which the border States have a right to expect from the Government, nor to redeem its pledge to protect the emigrant tribes from the savage and warlike people that surround them. The only possible use of such a road would be to facilitate occasional communications between the posts in time of peace. Supplies would not be transported along it, for they must be brought from the interior. Succours could not reach the posts by that direction, for they would be furnished by the militia within the line; and any attempt to concentrate the forces composing the garrisons in the event of an outbreak, would probably be attended with disastrous consequences; for the troops, whose route must be well known, would be exposed to be attacked and destroyed in detail. The enemy, having nothing to dread on their flanks or rear, might approach this road without risk, and attack the detachments on their line of march, before they could concentrate their forces so as to offer an effectual resistance.

“ After mature reflection, I am of opinion that military posts ought to be established and kept up within the Indian territory, in such positions as to maintain peace among the Indians, and protect the emigrant and feebler tribes against the stronger and more warlike nations that surround them ; which the United States are bound to do by treaty stipulations. To withdraw those which now exist there, would be to violate our faith, as there is reason to apprehend that it would be the signal of war. Persons well acquainted with that country assure us that war would break out among the Indians ‘ just so soon as the troops are removed from those posts ;’ and all accounts from that quarter confirm that impression.

“ Independently of the military protection which the existence of these posts in the interior of the Indian country afford to the emigrating tribes, and the good they are calculated to effect by the beneficial influence the officers are enabled to exert over the surrounding Indians,

they more effectually cover and protect the frontier than ten times the number of fortresses, strung along in one line, could do.

“ With the very limited knowledge of that country as yet in possession of this department, it appears to me that six or seven permanent exterior posts would be sufficient to preserve the peace of that frontier. It will be necessary, at the same time, to establish, at convenient points, an interior line of posts, to serve as places of refuge for the inhabitants in periods of danger and alarm, until the militia can march to their succour from the interior, and the troops be put in motion upon the rear of the invaders. Eight of these would be amply sufficient, from which patrols might be kept up along the frontier to enforce the intercourse laws. Both descriptions of forts should be so constructed as to be defended by a small garrison, and in a manner that each part may be successfully maintained against a very superior force, both during the time the whole is being completed, and in the event of

any portion of it being burnt or destroyed. This arrangement would require the establishment of a few depôts of arms and supplies, from which communications should be opened to the posts. The accompanying skeleton map presents a view of the relative positions of the posts and depôts, and of the communications from them to the line of defence for the speedy transportation of succours and supplies. A regular force of five thousand men would be sufficient to garrison these posts, and, with a competent reserve at Jefferson barracks, and an effective force at Baton Rouge, would, I think, both ensure the safety of the western frontier, and enable the Government to fulfil all its treaty stipulations, and preserve its faith with the Indians. I would recommend, as an important auxiliary to this system of defence, the organization of an efficient volunteer force, to be raised in each of the frontier States; the men to be mustered into service for a certain term of time, the officers to be appointed according to their State laws, and

to be instructed a certain number of days in each year by the regular officers of the United States army at the posts within the States, and to receive pay during that period. In this manner an efficient corps of officers may be created, and a body of volunteers be at hand to march to the succour of the border settlers and repel the invaders, whenever they are called upon by the proper authority.

“I venture to hope, if these measures are adopted by Congress, and carried into effect at an early day, so as to anticipate any hostile movement of the Indians, peace will be preserved on our Western borders; but if they should, unfortunately, be delayed until the discontent which exists among many of the tribes breaks out into open hostility, and the first movements of that wild and warlike people prove successful, as they infallibly would do in our present unprepared state, it might require double the force and quadruple the means I have here indicated to restore and preserve peace along

that extended frontier. All which is respectfully submitted.

“ J. R. POINSETT.

“ HON. JAMES K. POLK,

“ Speaker of the House of Representatives.”

The acting quarter-master-general, in his report, makes the following observation :—

“ The obligations of the Government in reference to the Western frontier are of a very peculiar character. It is first bound, by a common duty, to protect its own border settlements extending along a line of one thousand miles, against the incursions of numerous savage tribes, separated from those settlements by mere imaginary lines ; and it is next bound, by the solemn treaty stipulations, with such of those tribes as have emigrated to that frontier, ‘ to protect them at their new residences against all interruptions or disturbances from any other tribes or nations of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatsoever.’

“ If these obligations are to be scrupulously

fulfilled in good faith, which would seem to be due to our character as a nation professing a paternal care over these people, a military force of *thirty thousand men* on the Western frontier would scarcely be adequate to enable the Government to discharge its duties to its own citizens, and redeem these pledges of protection to the Indians.

“It is not my intention, however, to propose such a force. Political expediency, I presume, would not tolerate it, however it might be justified by military considerations. It is merely adverted to here in connexion with the *heavy obligations* which rest upon Government, and which have probably been contracted from time to time, without any very nice calculation of the means that would be necessary to a *faithful discharge of them*. I will, therefore, without enlarging upon this point, proceed to state the *minimum* force that is deemed necessary to give protection to the border settlements, and assist in preserving peace among them and their In-

dian neighbours along the line of the frontier. These are great and important objects of themselves, without superadding the yet more difficult task of protecting the emigrant tribes, whom our policy has placed beyond the frontier, from the wild and warlike Indians of the Far-West."

And Colonel Gratiot, in his report, makes the following admission. Speaking of the second, or middle, section, he says :—

"Second, or Middle Section.—The country beyond this line is mostly elevated and free from marshy ground; is abundantly watered, thinly wooded, healthy, and has been assigned for the permanent residence of the tribes which have been, or are to be, removed from the States and territories east of the Mississippi, and is still occupied by the Aborigines originally found within its limits. In numbers they count, according to some estimates, 131,000, and can send to the field 26,200 warriors. As yet, no community of feeling, except of deep and lasting

hatred to the white man, and more particularly to the Anglo-Americans, exists among them; and, unless they coalesce, no serious difficulty need be apprehended from them. Not so, however, should they be induced to unite for purposes offensive and defensive: their strength would then become apparent, create confidence, and, in all probability, induce them to give vent to their long-suppressed desire to revenge past wrongs, which is restrained, as they openly and freely declare, by fear alone. That such a union will be formed at no distant day, we have every reason to believe; and the period may be accelerated by their growing wants, and the policy of Mexico to annoy Texas, and raise an impenetrable barrier in the direction of her frontier."

That at present the Western frontier is defenceless is undeniable, and the Florida war does not appear to be at all nearer to a conclusion than it was two or three years ago. That the Indians to the west of the Mississippi are

not ignorant of what is going on is very certain ; and the moral effect arising from the protracted defence of the Seminoles may eventually prove most serious, and be attended with enormous expense to the United States.

The Federal Government takes every precaution to impress the Indians with an idea of the impossibility of their opposing the white men. The agents persuade the chiefs to go down to Washington to see their great father, the President. On these occasions they are accompanied by the Indian agent and interpreter, and, of course, all their expenses are paid. They are lodged at the hotels, taken to all places of public amusement, and provided with conveyances. But the policy of the Government is to cause them to make a circuit through all the most populous cities, as the crowds attracted by the appearance of the Indians give them an extraordinary and incorrect idea of the American population. Wherever they go they are in a crowd. If they are at the windows of an hotel, still the crowds are immense ; and this is what

the Government is anxious should take place. I was at Boston when the two deputations of the Sioux and Sacs and Foxes tribes arrived. The two nations being at enmity, the Sioux were conducted there first, and left the town on the arrival of the Sacs and Foxes, or there would probably have been a fight. The Governor received the latter in the Town-hall, and made a speech; I was present. I thought at the time that it was not a speech that I would have made to them, and if I mistook not, it brought up recollections not very agreeable to the chiefs, although they were too politic to express their feelings. But a few years before, their lands east of the Mississippi had been wrested from them in the most unfair way, as I have mentioned in my remarks upon the treatment of the Indians by the American Government.

Governor Everett commenced his speech as follows :—

“ Chiefs and warriors of the confederated Sacs and Foxes, you are welcome to our Hall of Council. You have come a far way, from

your red friends of the West, to visit your white brethren of the East. We are glad to take you by the hand. We have heard before of the Sac and the Fox tribes: we have heard much of their chiefs, warriors, and great men: we are now glad to see them here. We are of Massachussets: the red men once resided here: their wigwams were on yonder hill: and their Council Chamber was here. When our fathers came over the great waters, they were a small band, and you were powerful: the red man stood on the rock by the seaside, and looked at them with friendly eyes: he might have pushed them into the water, but took them by the hand, and said welcome, white man. Our fathers were hungry, and the red man gave them corn and venison. Our fathers were cold, and the red man spread his blanket over them and made them warm. We are now great and powerful, but we *will remember* in our prosperity the benefits bestowed by our red brethren in our adversity."

Up to the present, they certainly have forgotten them !!

But the fate of the red man appears to be nearly decided. What between their wars with each other, the use of spirituous liquors, and the diseases imported by the whites, they dwindle away every day. The most fatal disease to them is the small-pox. The following account, which I have extracted from one of the American papers, was confirmed to me by a letter from Fort Snelling. :—

*Appalling destruction of North-west Indians
by Small-pox.*

“ We gave yesterday an account of the origin of this epidemic by means of a steam-boat trading on the Missouri. To-day we subjoin, from the St. Louis bulletin slip of March 3d, a detailed account of its ravages. The disease had reached the remote band of the Blackfeet, and thousands of them had fallen victims. They do not blame the traders.

“The ‘Pipe Stem,’ a chief of great influence, when dying, called his people around him, and his last request was, that they would love their traders, and be always governed by their advice. ‘I may,’ says one of the traders, ‘be blamed for not using measures to arrest the progress of the disease, but without resort to arms on the arrival of the boat with supplies, the Indians could not have been driven from the fort.’

“An express went two days a-head of the boat, but it was of no use preaching to the Indians to fly—they flocked down to the boat as usual when she arrived. The peltry trade in that quarter is ruined for years. The company agent at Fort Union, writes, Nov. 30, that all their prospects on the Upper Missouri are totally prostrated. The epidemic spread into the most distant part of the Assinaboin country, and this tribe were dying by fifties and hundreds a day. The disease appeared to be of a peculiarly malignant cast; some, a few moments after

severe attacks of pain in the head and loins, fell down dead, and the bodies turned black immediately after, and swelled to three times their natural size. The companies erected hospitals, but they were of no use. The carts were constantly employed burying the dead in holes; afterwards, when the earth was frozen, they were consigned to the water. Many of the squaws are left in a miserable condition. The disease has not reached the Sioux, many of whom have been vaccinated.

“The Mandans, numbering 1,600, living in permanent villages 1,600 miles above St. Louis, have all died but thirty-one.

“The Minatarees, or Gros Ventres, living near the Mandans, numbering about 1,000, were, by our last accounts, about one half dead, and the disease still raging.

“The Arickarees, amounting to 3,000, who but lately abandoned a wandering life, and joined the Mandans, were about half dead, and

the disease still among them. It is probable they have been reduced in proportion to the Mandans.

“The Assinaboins, a powerful tribe, about 9,000 strong, living entirely by the chase, and ranging north of the Missouri, in the plains below the Rocky Mountains, down towards the Hudson’s Bay Company, on the north Red River, are *literally annihilated*. Their principal trade was at Fort Union, mouth of the Yellow Stone.

“The Crees, living in the same region, numbering 3,000, are nearly all destroyed. The great nation called Blackfeet, who wander and live by the chase, ranging through all the region of the Rocky Mountains, divided into bands—Pieigans, Gros Ventres, Blood Indians, and Blackfeet, amounting in all to 50,000 or 60,000, have deeply suffered. One thousand lodges or families have been destroyed, and the disease was rapidly spreading among the different bands.

The average number in a lodge is from six to eight persons.

“The boat that brought up the small-pox made her voyage last summer, and the ravages of the distemper appear to have been greatest in October. It broke out among the Mandans, July 15th. Many of the handsome Arickarees who had recovered, seeing the disfiguration of their features, committed suicide; some by throwing themselves from rocks, others by stabbing, shooting, &c. The prairie has become a grave yard; its wild flowers bloom over the sepulchres of Indians. The atmosphere for miles is poisoned by the stench of hundreds of carcases unburied. The women and children are wandering in groups without food, or howling over the dead. The men are flying in every direction. The proud, warlike, and noble looking Blackfeet are no more. The deserted lodges are seen on the hills, but no smoke issues from them. No sound but the raven's croak, and

the wolf's long howl, breaks the awful stillness. The wolves fatten on the dead carcasses. The scene of desolation is described as appalling beyond the powers of imagination to conceive."

That they may give the Americans much trouble, however, previous to their final extermination, is true, and that they are very anxious to revenge themselves, is equally certain. The greatest misfortune which could happen to the United States would be a union or mixture of the negroes with the Indian tribes. If this were to take place, the population would, in all probability, rapidly increase, instead of falling away as it now does ; as then the negro population would till the ground sufficiently for the support of themselves and the Indians, as they now do among the Creek and Seminole tribes, who have plenty of cattle and corn. The American Indian in his natural state suffers much from hunger, and this is one cause of the non-increase of their population. What

might be effected by the bands now concentrated on the American frontier, if at any future time they should become amalgated with the negroes, will be fairly estimated by the reader when he has read the account I am about to lay before him of the war in Florida.

CHAPTER IX.

CAUSES OF THE FLORIDA WAR.

MOST of my countrymen are aware that the Americans have been carrying on a war against the Florida Indians for the last two or three years; the details, however, are not so well known; and as this Florida war ought to be a lesson to the Americans, and may, as a precedent to the other Indians, prove of great importance, I shall enter into the particulars of it. I am moved, indeed, so to do, as it will afford the reader a very fair specimen of the general policy and mode of treatment shewn to the Indians by the American Government. Florida was ceded by Spain to the United States as a set-off against 500,000 dollars, claimed by the Americans for spoliations committed on her commerce.

The white population of Florida is not very numerous even now; the census of 1830 gave 18,000 whites and 16,000 slaves, independent of the Florida Indians, or Seminoles. Seminoles is a term for runaways or wanderers; the Indian tribes in Florida being a compound of the old Florida Indians, two varieties of Creeks, who quitted their tribe previous to their removal west of the Mississippi, and Africans who are slaves to the Indians. Their numbers at the commencement of the war were estimated as follows:—

Warriors.

The Mico-sukee Indians, of which Osseola,	
or Asseola, was one of the principal	
chiefs	400
Creek and Spanish Indians	850
Negroes.....	600 to 700

In all about 1900 warriors.

The chief of the whole Seminole nation is Mic-e-no-pah, and next to him in consequence, as orator of the nation, is an Indian of the name of Jumper. It must be observed that

these Indians, having slaves, cultivated the ground and had large stocks of cattle. Florida, like all the confines of the United States, had a white population not very creditable to any country, and many of these people went there more with a view of robbing the Indians of their negroes and cattle, and selling them in the Western States, than with any intention of permanently settling in the country.

As soon as the Floridas were ceded by the Spanish, the American Government perceived the expediency of removing the Indians from the territories, and, on the 18th of September 1823, a treaty was entered into with the Indians, by which the Indians, on their part, agreed to remove to the westward after *twenty years* from that date, that is on September 18th, 1843. By the same treaty the American Government secured to the Indians a tract of land in Florida, containing five millions of acres, for their subsistence during the time that they remained in that State; and agreed to pay the Indians certain

advances, in consequence of their surrendering all title to the rest of the Florida country, and engaging to confine themselves to the limits of the territory allotted to them.

Nothing could be more plain or simple than the terms of this treaty, which, in consequence of the council being held at this spot, was denominated the treaty of Camp Moultrie.

The third article in the treaty of Camp Moultrie runs as follows:—"The United States will take the Florida Indians under their care and patronage, and *will afford them protection against all persons whatsoever.*"

One of the great errors committed by the American Government was in binding itself to perform what was not in its power. It could no more protect these Indians against the white marauders than it could prevent the insurgents from attacking Upper Canada. The arm of the Federal Government is too weak to reach its own confines, as will hereafter be shewn by its own acknowledgment. The consequence was that,

very soon after the treaty of Camp Moultrie had been signed, the Indians were robbed and plundered by the miscreants who hovered near them for that purpose.

An American author states that two men, Robinson and Wilburn, belonging to Georgia, contrived to steal from one chief twenty slaves, to the value of 15,000 dollars, and carried them to New Orleans. I will however quote a portion of the work.

“ Another influential chief, Emachitochustern, commonly called John Walker, was robbed of a number of slaves in a somewhat similar manner. After making an appeal to the government agent, without the least chance of redress, he says:—‘ I don’t like to make any trouble or to have any quarrel with white people, but, if they will trespass on my lands and rights, I must defend myself the best way I can, and if they do come again they must bear the consequences. But is there no civil law to protect me ? are the

negroes belonging to me to be stolen away publicly in the face of all law and justice? carried off and sold to fill the pockets of these land pirates? Douglass and his company have hired a man, who has two large trained dogs for the purpose, to come here and take off others. He is from Mobile, and follows catching negroes.'

"Colonel John Blount, another estimable chief, was inhumanly beaten by a party of white men, who robbed him of several hundred dollars; he made application to the authorities, but the villains were allowed to escape.

"These facts show how mild and forbearing the Seminoles have acted under the most trying circumstances; and even when their property has been assailed in this way, they have, in numerous instances, refrained from making resistance; their hands were bound, as the severest punishment awaited any attack they might make upon the intruders, even though circumstances justified it. But as the Indian's evidence could not be received in a court of jus-

tice, the white man's oath would condemn him to the most torturing punishment."

But in every way were the poor Indians the prey of the white men. The same author says, among many other cases brought forward, "A man, by the name of Floyd, was employed by an Indian woman to recover some negroes for her, and instead of presenting a mere power of attorney for her signature, she found, alas! it was a bill of sale for all her negroes! Another individual was requested by Miconopy, governor of the Seminoles, to draw a piece of writing for him, to which, without suspicion of its character, he attached his name; it was soon after discovered to be a conveyance of a large tract of land!

Another source of profit to these scoundrels was the obtaining by fraudulent means from the Indians, orders upon the American Government for the payment of portions of their annuity granted in return for the cession of the territory. "One of the government agents was a delinquent

to them for a considerable amount. He robbed the principal interpreter of the nation, a very influential black chief by the name of Abraham, of several hundred dollars, by getting a receipt from him without paying the money, under the plea that it was necessary to send the receipt to Washington, where it was filed to the credit of the agent. Several other Indians of influence were robbed in a similar manner; and when they demanded the money from the succeeding agent, they were told that the government would not pay them. Is not this an unsound principle to adopt in our intercourse with the Indians? Is it just or honourable for us to send our own agents among them, without their approval, and not hold ourselves responsible for their conduct? If we were indebted to a nation, and the funds are sent through an agent to pay over, and he neglects to do so, are we not still liable, and would not a civilized power still hold us responsible?"

I have mentioned these facts to show that

the Indians were justified in their want of faith in the white men : they were robbed and pillaged and had no redress ; nay, they were imprisoned as thieves for taking away their own cattle which had been stolen from them, although they showed their own marks and brands upon them. Whether the American Government suffered all this spoliation with a view to disgust the Indians and incline them to remove to the westward, the reader will be better able to judge for himself when he has read a few pages more.

The Florida people were now subjected to retaliation on the part of the Indians, who, finding that they could obtain no redress, naturally took the law into their own hands, and loss of life on both sides was the consequence. This produced petition after petition from the Florida white population to the government, requesting that the Indians might be moved west prior to 1843, the period agreed upon by the treaty of Camp Moultrie. Colonel Gadsden, a citizen of Florida, was appointed

commissioner to treat with the Indians, and on the 8th of April 1832, had an interview with Mic-e-no-pah, and a few other chiefs. The Indians requested thirty days to collect the opinions of the absent chiefs, and on the 8th of May 1832, they met the commissioner, according to appointment, at Payne's Landing. The commissioner had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining their consent to the removal, which was ultimately given upon certain conditions.

By this treaty, the Indians agreed to remove west upon being paid a certain sum for the reserved land ; an annuity for a certain number of years ; and other advantages, which would occupy too much space to particularize here. The treaty was signed by Mic-e-no-pah, the head chief, Jumper, and thirteen more.

But the treaty was assented to upon one condition, which was, that the Seminoles were *satisfied* with the lands apportioned to them west of the Mississippi. This is acknowledged by Colonel Gadsden, in his letter to the Secretary of War,

who says—"There is a condition prefixed to the agreement, without assenting to which the Florida Indians most positively refused to negotiate for their removal west of the Mississippi. Even with the condition annexed, there was a reluctance (which with some difficulty was overcome) on the part of the Indians, to bind themselves by any stipulations before a knowledge of facts and circumstances would enable them to judge of the advantages or disadvantages of the disposition the government of the United States wished to make of them. They were finally induced, however, to assent to the agreement."

"The final ratification of the treaty will depend upon the opinion of the seven chiefs selected to explore the country west of the Mississippi river. If that corresponds to the description given, or is equal to the expectations formed of it, there will be no difficulty on the part of the Seminoles."

There was a very unwise delay on the part of the American government after the signing of this second treaty. More than two years were per-

mitted to elapse before any appropriation of land was made for the Indians, who became dissatisfied, and the treaty was by them pronounced to be "a white man's treaty," which they did not any longer consider to be binding.

But there were other reasons why the Seminoles did not consider the treaty as binding ; they did *not* like the lands allotted to them. A deputation of seven was sent west of the Mississippi : the land they acknowledged was good land, but they found that they were close to the Pawnee territory, and that that tribe was proverbially famous for stealing cattle and horses. It was also the determination of the American Government, as they were considered as a portion of the Creek nation, to settle them near to and incorporate them with that nation. This did not suit them ; the Creeks had claimed many of their slaves, and they knew that they had no chance with so superior a force as that of the Creek nation, who would have taken all their slaves from them. As, therefore, the Pawnees

would have stolen all their cattle, and the Creeks have taken all their slaves, they considered that utter destitution would be the consequence of the removal as proposed by the American Government. To get over the latter difficulty, the government proposed that the Seminoles should sell their slaves previous to their removing, but this they objected to. The American author I have quoted says :—

“ It was then suggested to them that, by a sale of these negroes before they left Florida, they would augment their resources, and could go into their new country without the dread of exciting the cupidity of the Creeks. But these Indians have always evinced great reluctance to parting with slaves : indeed the Indian loves his negro as much as one of his own children, and the sternest necessity alone would drive him to the parting : this recommendation was, therefore, viewed with evident alarm, and as the right of retaining possession of them was guaranteed

by the commissioner, strong doubts were raised as to the sincerity of the pledge.

“ The Seminole Indians are poor agriculturists and husbandmen, and withal too indolent to till the ground, and, without their negroes, would literally starve: besides, should they dispose of them they could not be replenished in a new country. Again: the opposition of the slaves themselves to being sold to the whites would excite all their energies to prevent emigration, for they dread the idea of being transferred to sugar and cotton plantations, where they must be subject to the surveillance of the overseer. The life of a slave among the Indians, compared with that of negroes under overseers, is one of luxury and ease; the demands upon him are very trifling, scarcely ever exceeding eight or ten bushels from the crop, the remainder being applied to his own profit: they live separate, and often remote, from their owners, and enjoy an equal share of liberty. The negro is also

much more provident and ambitious than his master, and the peculiar localities of the country eminently facilitate him in furnishing the Indian with rum and tobacco, which gives him a controlling influence over the latter, and at the same time affords him an immense profit; so that it can be easily imagined that the negroes would in no manner be benefitted by the change."

On the 23d of October, 1834, being two years and a half after the signing of the second treaty at Payne's Landing, a council of Indians was again summoned by the agent, who informed them that all they had now to answer were the following questions:—

Will you incorporate yourselves with the Creek nation in the Far-West?

Will you have money for your cattle which you leave here on your arrival there, or will you have cattle in return?

Will you go by water, or by land?

Will you have your next annuity paid in money or in goods?

Upon this, the chiefs retired and held a private council. It is said that Asseola, the principal chief of the tribe of Micosukees, persuaded them strongly to resist going, and declared that he would consider as his enemy any one who agreed to go. Asseola had not signed the treaty. The next day the council was resumed, and the chiefs made the following replies to the agent.

The first who spoke was Holata Mico, principal war chief. He expressed his wish that there should be no quarrelling, at the same time that he gave his evidence as to the truth of the first book of Moses.

“*Holata Mico* then rose, and said—‘God made all of us, and we all came from one woman, sucked one bubby; we hope we shall not quarrel; that we will talk until we get through.’

“*Miconopy* then said—‘When we were at

Camp Moultrie we made a treaty, and we were to be paid our annuity for twenty years. That is all I have got to say.'

"*Jumper* said—' At Camp Moultrie they told us all difficulties should be buried for twenty years, from the date of the treaty made there; that after this we held a treaty at Payne's Landing, before the twenty years were out; and they told us we might go and see the country, but that we were not obliged to remove. The land is very good, I saw it, and was glad to see it; the neighbours there are bad people; I do not like them bad Indians, the Pawnees. I went and saw the place; I told the agent that I was a rogue; that he had brought me to the place here alongside, and among the rogues, the bad Pawnees, because I am a rogue. I went to see the land, and the commissioners said that the Seminoles must have that land. When we went west to see the land, we had not sold our land here, and we were told only to go and see it. The Indians there steal horses, and take

packs on their horses ; they all steal horses from the different tribes ; I do not want to go among such people ; your talk seems always good, but we don't feel disposed to go west.'

" *Charley Amathla* then rose, and said—
'The speakers of the nation are all dead ; but I recollect some of their words when they had the meeting at Camp Moultrie. I was not there, but heard that we would be at peace, and that we would have our annuity paid to us for twenty years. *White people have told me that the treaty at Camp Moultrie, which was made by great men, and not to be broken, had secured them for twenty years ; that seven years of that treaty are still unexpired.* I am no half breed, and do not lean on one side. If they tell me to go after the seven years, I say nothing. As to the proposition made us by the agent about removing, I do not say I will not go ; but I think that, until the seven years are out, I give no answer. My family I love dearly and sacredly. I do not think it right to take

them right off. Our father has often said to me that he loves his children—and they love him. When a man is at home, and got his stock about him, he looks upon it as the subsistence of himself and family. Then when they go off, they reflect and think more seriously than when quiet at home. I do not complain of the agent's talk. My young men and family are all around me. Should I go west, I should lose many on the path. As to the country west, I looked at it; a weak man cannot get there, the fatigue would be so great; it requires a strong man.' ”

This talk made the agent very angry; he told them that they should stand by the treaty at Payne's Landing; he desired them to retire, and when they came again to act like chiefs and honourable men.

“ October 25, 1834. The council convened at 11 o'clock. Interpreters as yesterday.

“ The *agent* said to the council, ‘ I am ready to receive your answers to the questions which I submitted to you.’

“*Holato Mico*.—‘ I have only to repeat what I said yesterday, and to say that the twenty years from the treaty at Moultrie has not yet expired. I never gave my consent to go west ; the whites may say so, but I never gave my consent.’

“*Jumper*.—‘ We are not satisfied to go until the end of twenty years, according to the treaty at Camp Moultrie. We were called upon to go to the west, beyond the Mississippi. It is a good country ; this is a poor country, we know. We had a good deal of trouble to get there ; what would it be for all our tribe.’

“*Miconopy*.—‘ I say, what I said yesterday, I did not sign the treaty.’

“*Agent*.—‘ Abraham, tell Miconopy that I say *he lies* ; he did sign the treaty, for here is his name.’ ”

Miconopy here asserts that he did not sign the treaty, which certainly appears to be a falsehood : but it should be remembered that, by the agent’s own admission, it was only a conditional signature by a portion of the chiefs, pro-

vided that they liked the location offered to them ; and as they objected to this, the treaty was certainly, in my opinion, null and void. Indeed, the agent had no right to demand the signatures when such an important reservation was attached to the treaty. I do not give the whole of the agent's reply, as there is so much repetition ; the following are extracts :—

“ I have told you that you must stand to your bargain. My talk is still the same. You must go west. Your father, the President, who is your friend, will compel you to go. Therefore, be not deluded by any hope or expectation that you will be permitted to remain here. You have expressed a wish to hear my views and opinion upon the whole matter, As a man, and your friend, I will this day deign to reason with you ; for I want to show you that your talk of to-day is the foolish talk of a child.

“ Jumper says, they agreed at Payne's Landing to go and examine the country west, but they were not bound to remove to it until the

nation should agree to do so, after the return of the delegation ; and he adds, what others of you have said, that the treaty at Camp Moultrie was to stand for twenty years. Such a talk from Jumper surprises me, for he is a man of sense. He understands the treaty at Payne's Landing, which he signed ; he was the first named in that treaty, of the delegation appointed to go west ; he knows that that treaty gave him and the members of the delegation authority to decide whether the nation should remove or not.

“ The Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees, who live in the States, are moving west of the Mississippi river, because they cannot live under the white people's laws ; they are gone and going, and the Seminole nation are a small handful to their number. Two governments cannot exist under the same boundary of territory. Where Indians remain within the limits of a state or territory until the jurisdiction of a state or territory shall be extended over them, the Indian government, laws and

chiefships, are for ever done away—the Indians are subject to the white man's law. The Indian must be tried, whether for debt or crime, in the white man's court; the Indian's law is not to be known there; the Indian's evidence is not to be admitted there; the Indian will, in every thing, be subject to the control of the white man. It is this view of the subject which induces your father, the President, to settle his red children beyond the limits of the states and territories where the white man's law is never to reach you, and where you and your children are to possess the land, while the grass grows and the water runs. He feels for his red children as a father should feel. It is, therefore, that he made the treaty with you at Payne's Landing, and for the same reason he will compel you to comply with your bargain. But let us look a little more closely into your own situation. Suppose (what is however impossible) that you could be permitted so remain here a few years longer, what would be your condition? *his land will soon*

be surveyed, sold to, and settled by, the whites. There is now a surveyor in the country ; the jurisdiction of the territory will soon be extended over this country. Your laws will be set aside, your chiefs will cease to be chiefs ; claims for debt and for your negroes would be set up against you by bad white men, or you would perhaps be charged with crimes affecting life ; you would be hauled before the white man's court ; the claims against you for debt, for your negroes or other property, and the charges of crime preferred against you, would be decided by the white man's law. White men would be witnesses against you ; Indians would not be permitted to give evidence ; your condition, in a very few years, would be hopeless wretchedness."

What an admission from their father, the President, after having, in the third article of the treaty of Camp Moultrie, declared that the United States will afford the Florida Indians *protection against all persons whatsoever !!!*

“Thus, you may see, that were it possible for you to remain here a few years longer, you would be reduced to hopeless poverty, and when urged by hunger to ask, perhaps, of the man who thus would have ruined you (and is, perhaps, now tampering with you for the purpose of getting your property) for a crust of bread, you might be called an Indian dog, and be ordered to clear out. [Here *Asseola*, who was seated by Miconopy, urged him to be firm in his resolution.] Your father, the President, sees all these evils, and will save you from them by removing you west ; and I will stand up for the last time to tell you, that you must go; and if not willingly, you will be compelled to go. I should have told you that no more annuity will be paid to you here. [*Asseola* replied, that he did not care whether any more was ever paid.] I hope you will, on more mature reflection, act like honest men, and not compel me to report you to your father, the President, as faithless to your engagements.”

“*Asseola* said, the decision of the chiefs was given; that they did not intend to give any other answer.

“*Miconopy* said—‘I do not intend to remove.’

“*The Agent*.—‘I am now fully satisfied that you are wilfully disposed to be entirely dishonest in regard to your engagements with the President, and regret that I must so report you. The talk which I have made to you must and will stand.’”

Thus, indeed, the council and the parties separated. The American government was supine, thinking, probably, that the Indians would not resist much longer; but the Indians, on the other hand, laid up large stores of powder and lead. Six months elapsed, and then the Indians were informed that they were to hear the *last* talk of the father, the President on *this side* of the Mississippi. On the 22d of April, 1835, the Indians assembled, and had the following communication from General Jackson:—

*“ To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Seminole
Indians in Florida.*

“ MY CHILDREN : I am sorry to have heard that you have been listening to bad counsels. You know me, and you know that I would not deceive, nor advise you to do any thing that was unjust or injurious. Open your ears and attend to what I shall now say to you. They are the words of a friend, and the words of truth.

“ The white people are settling around you. The game has disappeared from your country. Your people are poor and hungry. All this you have perceived for some time. And nearly three years ago, you made an agreement with your friend, Colonel Gadsden, acting on the part of the United States, by which you agreed to cede your lands in Florida, and to remove and join your brothers, the Creeks, in the country west of the Mississippi. You annexed a condition to this agreement, that certain chiefs, named therein, in whom you placed confidence, should proceed to the western country, and ex-

amine whether it was suitable to your wants and habits; and whether the Creeks residing there were willing to permit you to unite with them as one people, and if the persons thus sent, were satisfied on these heads, then the agreement made with Colonel Gadsden was to be in full force.

“In conformity with these provisions, the chiefs named by you proceeded to that country, and having examined it, and having become satisfied respecting its character and the favourable disposition of the Creeks, they entered into an agreement with commissioners on the part of the United States, by which they signified their satisfaction on these subjects, and finally ratified the agreement made with Colonel Gadsden.

“I now learn that you refuse to carry into effect the solemn promises thus made by you, and that you have stated to the officers of the United States, sent among you, that you will not remove to the western country.

“My children: I have never deceived, nor

will I ever deceive, any of the red people. I tell you that you must go, and that you will go. Even if you had a right to stay, how could you live where you now are? You have sold all your country. You have not a piece as large as a blanket to sit down upon. What is to support yourselves, your women and children? The tract you have ceded will soon be surveyed and sold, and immediately afterwards will be occupied by a white population. You will soon be in a state of starvation. You will commit depredations upon the property of our citizens. You will be resisted, punished, perhaps killed. Now, is it not better peaceably to remove to a fine, fertile country, occupied by your own kindred, and where you can raise all the necessities of life, and where game is yet abundant? The annuities payable to you, and the other stipulations made in your favour, will make your situation comfortable, and will enable you to increase and improve. If, therefore, you had a right to stay where you now are, still every

true friend would advise you to remove. But you have no right to stay, and you must go. I am very desirous that you should go peaceably and voluntarily. You shall be comfortably taken care of and kindly treated on the road, and when you arrive in your new country, provisions will be issued to you for a year, so that you can have ample time to provide for your future support.

“But lest some of your rash young men should forcibly oppose your arrangements for removal, I have ordered a large military force to be sent among you. I have directed the commanding officer, and likewise the agent, your friend, General Thompson, that every reasonable indulgence be held out to you. But I have also directed that one-third of your people, as provided for in the treaty, be removed during the present season. If you listen to the voice of friendship and truth, you will go quietly and voluntarily. But should you listen to the bad birds that are always flying about you, and

refuse to remove, I have then directed the commanding officer to remove you by force. This will be done. I pray the Great Spirit, therefore, to incline you to do what is right.

“ Your friend,

“ A. JACKSON.”

“ *Washington, February 16, 1835.*”

Several of the Indian chiefs replied, wishing for amity but unwilling to quit ; but the council was broken up by the agent, who informed them that he had been sent there to enforce the treaty : he had warriors enough to do it, and he would do it. It was the question now whether they would go of their own accord, or by force ?

This determination on the part of the agent induced some of the chiefs to waver, and eventually eight principal chiefs and eight sub-chiefs signed the articles agreeing to remove ; but Miconopy, the chief of the whole tribes, Jumper, the second in consequence, and three other powerful chiefs, refused. Upon this, the

agent took upon himself the most unwarrantable responsibility, by saying, Miconopy was no longer chief of the nation, and that his name and the other opposing chiefs were now struck out of the council of the nation.

That such an act as this was the cause of the greatest irritation to the Seminoles there can be no doubt ; and the conduct of the agent was re-proved by the Secretary of War, who, in his letter, observes,—

“ It is not necessary for me to enter into much detail on the subject presented by you. I understand from Mr. Harris, that he communicated to you the President's views on the subject of the chiefs whom you declined to recognize in all questions connected with the removal of the Seminoles. I understand that the President deemed this course an incorrect one ; and it seems to me obviously liable to strong objections. We do not assume the right of determining who shall be the chiefs in the various Indian tribes ; this is a matter of internal policy

which must necessarily be left to themselves. And if, when we have a grave matter for adjustment with one of the tribes, we undertake to say *it shall be* determined by a particular class of individuals, we certainly should render ourselves obnoxious to censure. It appears to me the proper course, upon important questions, is to treat directly with the tribe itself; and if they depute their chiefs, or any other individual to act for them, we must either recognize such authority or abandon the object in view."

In June 1835, Asseola, the chief of Micosukees, who did not appear at the council, but who was the most determined opponent of the treaty, came in to complain of the treatment his people had received from some white men, one of them having been wounded. He received no redress, and saying something offensive to the agent, he was thrown into prison. To obtain his release he promised to sign the treaty, at

least, so it is said, and that he did sign it ; but this must be considered only as an Indian stratagem : he had been imprisoned without any cause, and it is to be presumed that he thought himself justified in escaping by a corresponding fraud on his own part. The month after this occurrence, some of the tribe of Asseola murdered a government mail-carrier.

The Indians made one more effort : they called a council, and offered to remove to the west of the Mississippi, provided they had lands and an agent for themselves ; but this was sternly refused by the government, who sent back as an answer, that their great father, General Jackson, had been “ made very angry.” The attacks and depredations upon the Indians were now more frequent, and the majority of them determined upon resistance. Only six chiefs, out of all who had signed the treaty, acted to their word and brought in their cattle, &c. for the government agent, to be sold previous to their migra-

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tion. Five of their chiefs removed to the protection of Brooke's Fort, as they feared that the Seminoles would punish them for their revolt. One of them, Charley Amathla, was preparing to follow the others, when Asseola and two other chiefs went to his house and insisted that he should not remove his people. Charley Amathla replied that he had already pledged his word that he would abide by the promise which he made to their great father, and that if his life paid the forfeit, he felt bound to adhere to that promise. He said he had lived to see his nation a ruined and degraded people, and he believed that their only salvation was in removing to the West: that he had made arrangements for his people to go, and had delivered to the agent all their cattle, so that he had no excuse now for not complying with his engagements. One of the chiefs then informed him that the crisis was come: he must either join them in their opposition, or suffer death, and that two hours would be allowed him to consult

his people and declare his determination. He replied, that his mind was unalterable, and his people could not make him break his word ; that if he must die he hoped they would grant him time enough to make some arrangements for the good of his people. At this moment Asseola raised his rifle and was about to fire, when Abraham arrested the murderous aim, and requested them all to retire for a council with the other chiefs. Asseola, with a small party, however, separated themselves from the main body of the Indians, and returned to Charley Amathla's, and shot him. Thirteen of Amathla's people immediately escaped to Fort King, while the others, deterred by their fears, remained until the return of the principal band, when they joined the hostile party."

This was a fine trait in the Indian, and proves that the Seminoles are not the faithless people they are represented to be by the government agents. The death of this noble Indian was the signal for the commencement of

hostilities ; the Indians immediately abandoned all their towns, and, concealing their trail, removed their families to a place of safety, which has ever since baffled all conjecture as to its whereabouts, and its secrecy been a subject of the greatest astonishment.

CHAPTER X.

FLORIDA WAR.

It is naturally conjectured that the Seminoles retreated to some portion of the vast swamps which surround the Ouithlacoochee river ; but certain it is that since the commencement of the war, in December 1835, up to the present time, their retreat has never been discovered. Marauding parties now commenced on the part of the Indians, who took summary vengeance on those who had robbed and maltreated them. The whole country from Fort Brooke to Fort King was in a state of conflagration, and the whites were compelled to abandon every thing, and seek protection under the forts. At the outbreak of hostilities the American force in the department did not amount to five hundred men. The

militia were called out, but military stores were not at hand, and it was decided that the troops must wait for reinforcements before any attack could be made upon the Indians; the great object was to throw a reinforcement into Fort King.

General Clinch, who commanded at Fort Brooke, having been reinforced with thirty-nine men from Key West, no time was lost in preparing two companies for the above service. On the 24th of December 1835, a force of one hundred men, and eight officers, with a field-piece, under the command of Major Dade, commenced their march.

On the morning of the 28th, when it had proceeded four miles from the encampment of the previous night, this force was attacked by the Indians, whose first volley was very destructive, Major Dade with almost every man of the advanced guard falling dead. The Indians were repelled by the troops under Captain Gardner, upon whom the command then

devolved, and the Americans proceeded to throw up breastworks; but before they could raise them high enough for efficient protection, the Indians attacked them again. The Americans brought their field-piece into play, but the breastworks not being high enough, the Indians shot down every man who attempted to work the gun. All the officers, and more than two-thirds of the American troops had fallen, when the survivors found that all their ammunition was expended. The Indians, perceiving this, rushed in, and, with the exception of two men, who, although severely wounded, contrived to conceal themselves, and ultimately to make their escape, not one of the whole detachment was spared.

The force of the Indians is supposed to have been about three hundred and fifty or four hundred. The contest lasted six hours; and it must be admitted that nothing could be more gallant than the defence made by the troops against such a superior force.

On the afternoon of the same day, the Americans had to lament the loss of General Thompson, the Indian agent at Fort King. Imprudently strolling out about three hundred yards from the fort, he was attacked by the Indians, who waited in ambush for him, and, with Lieut. Smith and three other people belonging to the fort, was shot dead. This party of Indians was headed by Asseola, who had warned General Thompson that the white men should suffer for their treatment of him. His peculiar and shrill war-yell was given as the Indian party retreated, to let the whites know to whom they were indebted for the massacre.

General Clinch having been reinforced at Fort Brooke, (where he had two hundred regular troops,) with five hundred volunteers under the command of General Call, now moved with the whole force of seven hundred men.

On the 30th of December, as they were passing the Ouithlacoochee river, the Indians

watched their opportunity, and, when a portion only of the troops had gained the opposite side, commenced an attack, which was vigorously and successfully resisted ; the Indians, in little more than an hour, were beaten off. The battle was, however, severe, and the Americans sustained a loss of sixty-three killed and wounded. The Indian force is supposed to have amounted to seven hundred men.

But independently of these conflicts with the militia and regulars, the ravages of the Indians over the whole country are stated to have been most fearful. Women and children were murdered, and the hearth made desolate in every portion of the country. In the more settled parts near St. Augustine, the sugar-cane plantations, with the expensive works attached to them, were destroyed, and in many cases the slaves who were on the plantations were either carried off, or, voluntarily joining the Indians, increased the strength of the enemy. More than a hundred estates were

thus laid waste, the average loss upon each estate being computed, independently of the loss of the negroes, at fifty thousand dollars.

The intelligence of this havoc, and the massacre of Major Dade and his whole party, soon reached the neighbouring States, and a requisition for assistance made by General Clinch, was promptly responded to. Meetings were organized at Augusta, Savannah, Darien, and Charleston, and in a few days nearly two thousand volunteers were ready to march to the theatre of war. Indeed, the cause now became the cause of all the slave-holding States, and was taken up with the usual energy of the Americans.

In Louisiana the same spirit was shewn. General Gaines was at that time on a tour of inspection, and had received orders to take charge of the troops assembling on the Mexican frontier; but, at the request of the volunteers, he took the command of *them* until he could receive further orders from Washington. The assistance of

the American naval forces were demanded and obtained, and General Gaines having received intelligence that Fort Brooke was invested by the Indians, sent an express to General Clinch at Fort King, to say that he would join him with his forces to relieve the post. The Seminole Indians who had agreed to the treaty, remained firm to their word, and took up arms against their brethren, and a large force was now marching from all directions to the succour of the whites. I ought here to observe, that not only at the commencement, but ever since the war has continued, the difficulty and expense of forwarding supplies have been very great, and the American troops have undergone the severest privations, as well as great mortality from sickness and disease.

On the 13th February 1836, General Gaines, having arrived at Fort Brooke, reviewed his force, which amounted to between eleven hundred and twelve hundred men, and commenced his march to relieve Fort King, at which post he arrived

on the 2d February, without falling in with any of the Indians. The general then made a detour in pursuit of the enemy. On the 27th, when the force was crossing the Ouithlacoochee River, it was assailed by the Indians, who retired after a skirmish of three-quarters of an hour, the loss of the Americans being very trifling. On the 28th, when again fording the river, the Indians made another attack, which was continued for nearly four hours, and the Americans had to lament the loss of Major Izard, who was killed, and two other officers were wounded. On the 29th, the Indians again attacked, with a force of at least a thousand men, with a view of forcing the American troops from the breastwork which they had thrown up; the Indians, after about two hours' fighting, set fire to the high grass; but, unfortunately for them, the wind suddenly changed, and, instead of burning out the American troops, all their own concealed positions were burnt up and exposed, and they were compelled to retire. The loss on the Indian

side was not known, but was supposed to be heavy; that on the part of the Americans amounted to thirty-two killed and wounded.

General Gaines, finding that the Indians were so near him, now despatched expresses for a supply of ammunition, being resolved, if possible, to bring them to a general action. The sufferings of the American troops were very severe, and they were killing their horses for subsistence; but the camp was secure, in consequence of the Indians having burnt down all the means of concealment so necessary in their mode of warfare. Notwithstanding which, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of March, the camp was vigorously assailed. On the evening of the 5th, the Indian interpreter came in from the Seminoles, stating that they wished to hold a council, and did not want any more fighting. On the 6th, a truce was held, when Asseola and other chiefs made their appearance, saying, that if the Americans would not cross the river, they would remain on their own side of it, and not commit any more ravages. This

was, in fact, nothing but the original proposal of the Indians, that they should remain upon the land which had been assigned to them by the treaty of Camp Moultrie. The reply of General Gaines was, that he was not authorized to make a treaty with them ; their arms must be given up, and they must remain on the other side of the river, until the American Government sent them away west of the Mississippi. While this negotiation was pending, General Clinch arrived with the succour and reinforcements, much to the joy of the American troops, who were half starved. General Gaines, who had heard that General Scott had been appointed to the command in Florida, now resigned that authority to General Clarke, and on the 11th, the troops arrived at Fort Drane. It hardly need be observed, that the treating with the Indians ended in nothing. General Scott having assumed the command, arrived at Fort Drane on the 13th March 1836. He had had previously to contend with heavy rains and almost impracticable roads,

and was encumbered with a heavy baggage train ; his whole force amounted to nearly 5,000 men. This he divided into a centre and two wings, with a view to scour the whole country, and force the Indians from their retreats ; but in vain. The Indians being on the flanks of each division, occasional skirmishes took place ; but when the troops arrived to where the Indians were supposed to be, not a man was to be seen, nor could they discover the retreat of their families. Occasionally the Indians attacked the outposts with great vigour, and were bravely repulsed ; but the whole army of 5,000 men, did not kill and capture more than twenty Indians. As far as I can judge, nothing could be better than the arrangements of General Scott, but the nature of the country to which the Indians had retreated, rendered it almost impossible for troops to act. The swamps extended over a great surface of ground ; here and there was an island on which the Indians could remain ; while to attack them, the troops would have to wade up to their necks

for miles, and as soon as they arrived the Indians were gone.

It is not my intention to follow up all the details of the petty warfare which has continued to the present time. General Scott resigned the command, and was succeeded by General Jessopp. On the 20th October 1837, after nearly a year's skirmishing, Asseola was persuaded to come in, to a council. The flags of truce were hoisted by the Americans, and Asseola, carrying a flag of truce in his hand, and accompanied by other chiefs and about 50 warriors, came in to talk. On their arrival, they were surrounded by bayonets, and made prisoners by the orders of the Federal Government, who, despairing of subduing the Indians, had recourse to this shameful breach of faith. The proud spirit of Asseola could not endure confinement: he died in prison. Other chiefs were kidnapped in the same traitorous manner; but, severe as the loss must have been to the Indians, it did not appear to discourage them. The war was still carried on by those who were

left, and, indeed, is still continued ; for the ranks of the Indians are said to be filled up by runaway slaves, and some of the Creek Indians who have not yet quitted Georgia. On the 25th of December 1837, a severe battle was fought between the Indians and the American troops, at a spot between Pease Creek and the Big Cypress Swamps ; on this occasion the Americans lost Colonels Thompson and Guntry, with twenty-eight killed, and one hundred and eleven wounded. Since that I am not aware that any important combat has taken place ; but it is certain that the Seminoles, notwithstanding the loss of their leaders, still hold out and defy the whole power of the United States.

It is asserted in the American papers that the loss of lives on the American side, from the enemy and from disease, amounts to between two and three thousand men, and that the expenses of the war are now estimated at 30,000,000 of dollars. How far these calculations may be correct I cannot pretend to say, but it is notorious that a

handful of Indians, estimated, at the commencement of the war, at about 1,900, have contended against armies of four or five times their number, commanded by gallant and able officers; that this small band of Indians, notwithstanding their losses from the weapons of the enemy and their still greater losses from breach of faith, have now for four years held out against the American Government, and have contrived to *subsist* during that period; and that the retreat of their wives and families has never been discovered, notwithstanding the Americans have a friendly portion of the Seminoles acting with them. Indeed, if we are to believe the American statements, the war is almost as far from its conclusion now as it was at its commencement.*

* Although the Federal Government has set its face against the Indians making war with each other (or at least pretends so to do), it would appear by the following notice, that, in their necessity, they have not adhered to the following resolutions:—

“ *Extract of a Letter, dated*

“ FORT BROOKE, FLORIDA, JUNE 14.

“ The Cherokees and Choctaws are soon expected in

I have hastily narrated the causes and principal events of the war, as they are little known in England. The Americans, even if they expend twice as much money, must persevere, until they have extirpated every Indian, and settled the territory with white people; if they do not, the Florida swamps will become the resort of run-away slaves, and the precedent of what can be done, encourage a general rising of the slaves in the adjoining States, who will only have to retire to the banks of the Ouithlacoochee and defend themselves. So fatal is the climate to the European, that America even now will probably have to sacrifice life and treasure to a much greater extent before she obtains possession of the territory. I shall conclude by quoting a portion of a letter from the Genevese Traveller which appeared in the *Times* newspaper.

this country, when there will be a war of extermination and no quarter shown. The affairs here are just the same as two years ago. The war is no nearer ended. But we do hope that the offer of ten dollars for each Seminole scalp will be a great inducement for the Cherokees and Choctaws to cut and slash among them."

“The war was unrighteous in its commencement, and has been continued for years under circumstances the most profligate. There has not been a single campaign in which the army has not reaped a plentiful harvest of mortification and disgrace. When brought into action both officers and men fought valiantly, but the character of the country, its deep morasses and swamps, and the ignorance of the troops of Indian warfare, have uniformly tended to produce the most disastrous defeats.

There is not to be found on the page of history, in any country, an instance of a scattered remnant of a tribe, so few in number, defending themselves against the assaults of a disciplined and numerous army, with the same heroism and triumphant results with those of the Seminoles in resisting the American troops. In every campaign the invaders have been at least ten to one against the invaded. At no period have the Indians been able to muster more than 700 or 800 war-

riors, and it is doubtful whether they have ever had more than half that number, while the American army, when in the field, has uniformly amounted to from 6,000 to 10,000 men."

REPLY
TO
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE art of reviewing may be compared to French cookery; it has no medium—it must either be first-rate or it is worth nothing: nay, the comparison goes much further, as the attempt at either not only spoils the meat, but half poisons the guests. The fact is, good reviewing is of the highest order of literature, for a good reviewer ought to be superior to the party whose writings he reviews. Such men as Southey, Croker, and Lockhart on the one side, Brougham, Fontblanque, and Rintoul on the other, will always command respect in their vocations, however much they may be influenced by political feelings, or however little you may coincide with them in opinion. But, passing over these, and three or four more *cordons bleus*, what are reviewers in general? men of a degree of talent below that of the author whose works

they presume to decide upon ; the major portion of whom, having failed as authors, are possessed with but one feeling in their disappointment, which is to drag others down to their own debased level. To effect this, you have malevolence substituted for wit, and high-sounding words for sense ; every paltry advantage is taken that can be derived from an intentional misrepresentation of your meaning, and (what is the great secret of all) from unfair quotations of one or two lines, carefully omitting the context—an act of unpardonable dishonesty towards the author, and but too often successful in misleading the reader of the Review. By acting upon this last-mentioned system, there is no book, whatever its merits may be, which cannot be misrepresented to the public : a work espousing atheism may be made to appear wholly moral ; or, the Holy Scriptures themselves condemned as licentious and indecent. If such reviewing is fair, a jury may, upon a similar principle, decide upon a case by the evidence in favour of the pro-

secution ; and beauty or deformity in architecture be pronounced upon by the examination of a few bricks taken out from different portions of a building.

That, latterly, the public have been more inclined to judge for themselves, than to pin their faith upon reviews, is certain ; nevertheless, when what is termed a "*slashing article*" upon a popular work makes its appearance, the public are too apt to receive it without scrutiny. Satisfied with the general effect, as with that produced in a theatrical representation, they do not bear in mind that that which has the appearance of gold, would prove upon examination to be nothing more than tinsel.

Were all reviewers to be reviewed by authors as well as all authors by reviewers, the authors would have the best of it in the *mêlée*. Again, were reviewers obliged to put their names to their several articles, there would be a great difference in their style ; but, secure in their *incognito* from the disgrace of exposure, they make no scruple to assert what they well know to be false, and, coward-like, to assail those who

have seldom an opportunity, whatever may be their power, to defend themselves. Never, perhaps, was there a better proof of the truth of the foregoing observations than is afforded by the article in the *Edinburgh Review* upon the first portion of my work on America; and as I have some pages to spare, I shall now take the unusual liberty of reviewing the Reviewer.

First, let me introduce to the public the writer of the article—Miss Harriet Martineau. My readers may inquire how I can so positively make this assertion? I reply that it is owing to my “craft.” A person who has long dealt in pictures will, without hesitation, tell you the name of the painter of any given work: a shepherd with a flock of three or four hundred sheep under his charge, will know every one of them individually, although to people in general, one sheep is but the counterpart of the others. Thus, there are little varieties of style, manner, and handling of the pen, which become evident to practised writers, although they are not always so to readers. But

even if these peculiarities were not sufficient, the manner in which the article is managed (the remarks of Miss Martineau upon the merits of Miss Martineau) in my mind establishes to conviction, that the major portion of the article, if not the whole, has proceeded from her pen. This is a matter of no consequence, and I only mention it that my readers may understand why Miss Martineau, who forms so prominent a feature in the Edinburgh article, will also occasionally appear in mine. My reply, however, is not addressed to her, but to the Edinburgh Reviewer.

I have no doubt the Reviewer will most positively deny that Miss Martineau had any thing to do with the Review of my work : that of course. With his permission, I will relate a little anecdote. "When the Royal George went down at Spithead, an old gentleman, who had a son on board, was bewailing his loss. His friends came to console him. — 'I thought,' observed one of them, 'that

you had received a letter ?"—‘ Yes,’ replied the old gentleman, ‘ but it was from *Jack himself*.’ —‘ Well, what more would you have ?’—‘ Ah,’ replied the old gentleman, ‘ had it been from the captain, or from one of his messmates, or, indeed, from anybody else, it would have consoled me ; but Jack,—he is such an *incorrigible liar*, that his *very assertion* that he is safe, convinces me that he has gone to the bottom.’”

Now my opinion of the veracity of the Edinburgh Review may be estimated by the above anecdote ; the very circumstance of its denial would, with me, be sufficient to establish the fact. But to proceed.

The Review has pronounced the first portion of my work to be light and trifling, and full of errors ; it asserts that I have been hoaxed by the Americans ; that I am incapable of sound reasoning ; cannot estimate human nature ; and, finally, requests as a favour that I will write no more. Such are the general heads of the Review.

Now here we have a strange inconsistency, for

why should the Edinburgh Review, if the work be really what he asserts it to be, "light and trifling," &c, waste so much powder and shot upon a tomtit? Why has he dedicated twenty-seven pages of ponderous verbosity to so light and trifling a work? How seldom is it that the pages of the Quarterly or Edinburgh condescend to notice even the very best of light literature! Do they not, in their majesty, consider it *infra dig.* to review such works, and have not two or three pages bestowed upon them been considered as an immense favour on their part, and a high compliment to the authors? Notwithstanding which, we have here *twenty-seven pages of virulent attack* upon my light and trifling work. Does not the Edinburgh reviewer at once shew that the work is not light and trifling? does he not contradict his own assertions, by the labour and space bestowed upon it? nay, more, is it not strange that he should think it necessary to take the unfair advantage of reviewing a work before it is half finished,

and pounce upon the first portion, with the hopes of neutralizing the effects which he evidently dreads from the second.

I will answer the question for him. He indulges in his precipitate and unmeasured attacks, because he feels that the work is written in a style that will induce every one to read it; because he feels assured that the occasional, and apparently careless hits at democracy, are only preparatory to others more severe, and that these will come out in the second part, which will be read with as much avidity as the first. He perceives the drift of the work; he feels that it has been purposely made amusing, and that it will be more injurious to the cause which the *Edinburgh Review* upholds than a more laboured treatise; that those who would not look at a more serious work will read this, and that the opinions it contains will be widely disseminated, and impressed without the readers being aware of it; moreover, that it will descend to a class of readers who have hitherto been unin-

formed upon the subject : in short, he apprehends the greater danger to his cause from the work having, as I have said, been made amusing, and from its being in appearance, although not in reality, "light and trifling."

I candidly acknowledge that the Reviewer is right in his supposition: my great object has been to do serious injury to the cause of democracy. To effect this, it was necessary that I should write a book which should be universally read—not merely by the highly educated portion of the community, for they are able to judge for themselves; but *read by every tradesman and mechanic*; pored over even by milliners' girls, and boys behind the counter, and thumbed to pieces in every petty circulating library. I wrote the work with this object, and I wrote accordingly. Light and trifling as it may appear to be, every page of it (as I have stated) has been the subject of examination and deliberation: it has given me more trouble than any work I ever wrote ;

and, my labour having been so far crowned with success, I trust that I shall have "done the State some service."* The review in the Edinburgh will neither defeat nor obstruct my purpose, as that publication circulates chiefly among those classes who have already formed their opinions; and I have this advantage over it, that, as for one that reads the Edinburgh Review, fifty will read my work, so will fifty read my reply who will never trouble themselves about the article in the Edinburgh Review.

And now let us enter a little into detail. The Reviewer finds great fault with my introduction, as being wholly irrevelant to the Diary which follows it. I admit, that if it were an introduction to the Diary alone, there then would be some

* A very acute reviewer has observed of my first portion, that there always appeared as if there was something *left behind and not told*. He was right; I have entered into every subject just as deeply as I dared to venture, without wearying the class of readers for whom, although not avowedly, yet in reality, the work has chiefly been written. The second portion will therefore be found almost as light and trifling as the first.

justice in his remark. But such is not the case : an introduction is, I believe, generally understood to refer to the *whole* of the work, not a portion of it ; and now that the work is complete, I leave it to the public to decide whether the introduction is suitable or not, as bearing upon the whole. I believe, also, it is the general custom to place an introduction at the commencement of a work ; I never heard of one being introduced into the middle or at the end of it. The fault, therefore, of its imputed irrelevancy is not mine : it is the Reviewer's, who has thought proper to review the work before it was complete. He quotes me, as saying, "*Capt. Marryat's object was to examine and ascertain what were the effects of a democratic form of government upon a people which, with all its foreign admixture, may still be considered as English ;*" and then, without waiting till I have completed my task, he says, that the present work "has nothing, or next to nothing, to do with such an avowal." Whether such an

assertion has any thing to do with the work now that it is completed, I leave the public to decide. The Reviewer has no excuse for this illiberal conduct, for I have said, in my Introduction, "In the arrangement of this work, I have considered it advisable to present to the reader first, those portions of my Diary which may be interesting, and in which are recorded *traits and incidents* which will *bear strongly upon the commentaries I shall subsequently make*;" notwithstanding which the reviewer has the mendacity to assert that, "not until the last paragraph of the last volume, does he learn for the first time that the work is not complete." - I will be content with quoting his own words against him—" *An habitual story teller prefers invention to description.*"

The next instance of the Reviewer's dishonesty is, his quoting a portion of a paragraph and rejecting the context. He quotes, "I had not been three weeks in the country before I decided upon accepting no more invitations, charily as

they were made," and upon this quotation he founds an argument that, as I did not enter into society, I could of course have no means of gaining any knowledge of American character or the American institutions. Now, if the reviewer had had the common honesty to finish the paragraph, the reason why I refused the invitations would have been apparent ; " because I found that, although invited, my presence was a restraint upon the company, and every one *was afraid to speak.*" Perhaps the sagacity of the Reviewer will explain what information I was likely to gain from people who would not open their mouths. Had he any knowledge of the Americans, he would admit that they never will venture to give their opinions *in the presence of each other* ; it was not that they were afraid of *me*, but of each other, as M. Tocqueville has very truly pointed out in his work. Moreover, I have now, for the first time, to learn that the best way of arriving at the truth is to meet

people who are on their guard, and whose object is to deceive.

There is a malevolent feeling in the assertion, that I have treated *all* other previous writers on America with contempt ; and here again he intentionally quotes falsely. My words are “ the *majority* of those who have preceded me.” As nearly as I can reckon, there have been about fifty works published on America, out of which there are not *ten* which deserve attention ; and the ample quotations I have made from M. Tocqueville, Captain Hamilton, and others, in corroboration of my own opinions, fully evince the respect I have for their writings. In fact, the whole article is a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation, and so weak that hardly one of its positions is tenable. Can any thing be more absurd, or more shallow, than to quote the Mississippi scheme and Mr. Law as a proof that the French are, as well as the English and Americans, a *speculative nation* : one solitary

instance of a portion of the French having, about sixty or seventy years ago, been induced to embark their capital, is brought forward, while the abject supineness of the French population of Lower Canada, in juxtaposition with the energy and enterprize of the Americans, has for half a century stared us in the face !

The Reviewer has the kindness repeatedly to inform me that I have been hoaxed by the Americans, and, most unfortunately for himself, he has brought forward the "Original Draft of the Declaration of Independence" as a proof of it. That he would be very glad to prove it to be a hoax, I believe; as it is a sad discovery, and one which the American democrats should have kept secret. That the Americans did hoax Miss Martineau, and that they would have hoaxed me if they could, I admit, but even the Reviewer must acknowledge that they would not *hoax* themselves. Now it so happens, that this document, which has not long been discovered, is in the splendid public library of Philadelphia :

it has been carefully preserved in a double plate-glass frame, so as to be read on both sides without handling ; it is expensively mounted, and shewn to every visitor as a great curiosity, as it certainly is, the authenticity of it being undeniable, and acknowledged by the Americans. The paragraph which was expunged is verbatim as I gave it—a paragraph which affords more proof, if further proof were necessary, that Jefferson was one of the most unprincipled men who ever existed. The Reviewer recommends my perusal of the works of this “*great and good man*,” as Miss Martineau calls him. I suspect that I have read more of Mr. Jefferson and other American authors than ever the Reviewer has ; and I consider the writings of this Father of Democracy, opposed to his private life, to be a remarkable *type* of democracy in *theory* and in *practice*. To borrow a term from the Reviewer, those writings are “*brave words*” to proceed from an infidel, who proved his ardent love of liberty by allowing his own children to be put

up to auction at his death, and wear away their existence in misery and bondage. I cannot help here observing a *trifling inconsistency* on the part of the Reviewer. After lauding the Father of Democracy, and recommending me to read his works ; after sneering at our aristocracy by observing, " that no *kind* of virtue that we have heard of can suffer much from the loss of a *court* and of an *hereditary nobility* ;" after, in short, defending and upholding democracy in every page, all of a sudden the Reviewer turns round and says, "*We are no general admirers of democracy.*" Indeed ! if not general, you certainly appear to be *particular* admirers ; and if neither general nor particular, may I inquire what the Edinburgh Review has been frothing, fizzing, hissing, and bubbling about, like a tea-kettle in a passion, for these last twenty years ?

Never was there a more convincing proof of the boldness and arrogance which Reviewers (trusting to the irresponsibility arising from their

concealment) assume, than is afforded by the following passage in the Edinburgh article :—

“ An ardent pursuit of wealth and deep religious feelings go very well together.”

It is not for me to reply to the Reviewer in this instance ; I must hand him over to higher authority. I must oppose the everlasting doctrines of inspiration to the cold, heartless, and arrogant philosophy of an Edinburgh reviewer. In vain are we again and again forewarned in the Scriptures against the love of money ; in vain has our Saviour denounced it ; in vain have the apostles followed in his steps. Let the Reviewer, if he ever has looked into the Bible, refer to the epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. St. Paul declares that covetousness is *idolatry*. Hear also what he sayeth to Timothy :—

“ But they that wish to be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.” “ For the love of money is the root of all evil.”

Our Divine Master is even more explicit, for he says—"No servant can serve two masters; for either he will *hate* the one, and *love* the other; or else he will *hold* to the one, and *despise* the other. Ye cannot serve *God* and *Mammon*." Thus says our Lord—now hear the Edinburgh Reviewer.—"An ardent *pursuit* of *wealth* and *deep religious feelings* go very well together."

Here the Edinburgh Reviewer has placed himself on the horns of a dilemma. The Holy Writings assert most positively and repeatedly one thing, while he asserts another. If, therefore, he acknowledge the Scriptures, he must at the same time acknowledge his own greivous error, and, I may add, his deep sin: if, on the contrary, he still hold to his own opinion, hath he not denied his faith, and is he not worse than an infidel?

The Reviewer sneers at my observation, that "Washington had no power to control the nature of man." It may be, as he observes, a very

simple remark ; but, at all events, it has one advantage over his own, which is, that it is a very *true* one. Miss Martineau makes an observation in her book, which is quite as great a truism as mine ; for she also says that “ Human nature is the same every where.”

How far I have succeeded in my analysis of human nature it is not for me to decide ; but that it is the same every where I will now venture to support by something more than *assertion* on the part of Miss Martineau.

When I was at Boston, in company with some of the young ladies, the conversation turned upon Miss Martineau, with whom they stated that they had been intimate. Naturally anxious to know more of so celebrated a personage, I asked many questions. I was told much to interest me, and, among other little anecdotes, they said that Miss Martineau used to sit down surrounded by the young ladies, and amuse them with all the histories of her former loves. She would detail to them “ how

Jack sighed and squeezed her hand ; how 'Tom went down on his knees ; how Dick swore and Sam vowed ; and how—she was still Miss Martineau." And thus would she narrate and they listen until the sun went down, and the fire-fly danced, while the frogs lifted up their voices in full concert.

And I said to myself, "Who would have supposed that this Solon in petticoats would ever have dwelt upon her former days of enthusiasm and hope, or have cherished the reminiscences of love? How true it is that *human nature is the same every where.*"

Once more :—

I was conversing with a lady at New York, who informed me that she had seen a letter from Miss M., written to a friend of her's, after her return to England, in which Miss M. declared that her door was so besieged with the carriages of the nobility, that it was quite uncomfortable, and that she hardly knew what to do.

Thinks I to myself I recollect an old story.

"Oh ! Grandmother," cried Tom, running in, out of breath, "there's at least a thousand cats in our garden."—"No, no, Tom," quickly replied, the old lady ; "not a thousand, Tom."—"Well I'm sure there's five hundred."—"No, nor five hundred," replied the old lady, not taking her eyes off her knitting."—"Well, then, grandmother, I'm sure there's fifty."—"I don't think there *are* fifty, Tom."—"Well, at all events, there's *our cat and another*."—"Ah ! Tom," replied the old lady, "that *may* be."

I believe that the carriage of Lord Brougham is occasionally to be seen at the door of Miss Martineau.

But when I heard this I was pleased, for I said to myself, "So, then, this champion of democracy, this scorner of rank and title, is flattered by the carriages of the nobility crowding at her door;" and, again I said to myself, "*human nature is the same every where*."

But the Reviewer, in his virulence, has not been satisfied with attacking me ; he has

thought it necessary to libel the whole profession to which I have the honour to belong. He has had the folly and impertinence to make the following remark: "No landsmen can have been on board of a ship a week, without coming to the conclusion that a *sensible house dog* is more like the people he has left at home than most of his new companions, and that it (the house dog) would be nearly as *capable* of solving problems on national character."

Indeed!!

Is it possible that the Reviewer should still remain the dupe of such a vulgar error? That at one time it was the custom to send to sea *the fool of the family*, is certain, and had the Reviewer flourished in those days, he would probably have been the one devoted to the service—but *tempora mutantur*. Is the Reviewer aware that one-half, and certainly the most successful half, of English diplomacy, is now carried on by the admirals and captains, not only in the Mediterranean, but all over the world. Is he

aware that when the Foreign Office wishes to do its work cheaply and well, it demands a vessel from the Admiralty, which is made over to that office, and is set down as employed on "particular service:" that during that service the captain acts from instructions given by the Foreign Office alone, and has his cabin piled with voluminous documents; and that, like the unpaid magistracy of England, we sailors do all the best of the work, and have nothing but our trouble for our pains. Nay, even the humble individual who pens this remonstrance was for months on this very service, and, when it was completed, the Foreign Office expressed to the Admiralty its satisfaction at his conduct during his short diplomatic career.

House dogs! Hear this, ye public of England! A sensible house dog is to be preferred to St. Vincent, Nelson, Collingwood, Exmouth, and all those great men who have aided their country as much with their pen as with their sword; as much by their acuteness and firmness in

diplomacy, as by their courage and conduct in action.

Now, Mr. Reviewer, don't you feel a little ashamed of yourself? Would you really like to give up your name as the author of this bare-faced libel? Would you like openly to assert that such is your opinion, and that you will stand by it?

No liberal, high-minded man, whatever his politics may have been, has ever refused to do justice to a service which has been the bulwark of England. Lord Brougham has lately published a work containing the lives of celebrated persons in the reign of George III.; I will just quote a few passages from his life of Lord St. Vincent.

“ The present sketches would be imperfect if Lord St. Vincent were passed over in silence, for he was almost as *distinguished* among the *statesmen*, as the *warriors* of the age.

“ A *statesman* of profound views and of pen-

tration, hardly *equalled* by any other man of his time.

“ But the consummate vigour and wisdom of his proceedings during the dreadful period of the munity, are no less a theme of wonder and of praise.

“ When the Addington ministry was formed, he was placed at the head of the Admiralty; and now shone forth in all its lustre that great capacity for affairs with which he was endowed by nature, and which ample experience of men, habits of command, and an extended life of deep reflection, had matured.

“ The *capacity of a statesman* and the valour of the hero, outshone by the magnanimous heart which beats only to the measures of generosity and justice.”

Here, again, the Reviewer is in what the Yankees would call an “everlasting awkward fix;” for he contradicts Lord Brougham, the patron and sole supporter of his fast-waning

review, without the aid of whose admirable pen, it would long ago have gone to its proper place. He must now either admit that he is himself wrong, or that it is Lord Brougham who is in error. He has but to choose.

I have but one more remark to make upon the review itself. At the close of it, the Reviewer observes, that my remarks upon the marine are interesting and useful. How does he know? Upon his own argument, if we house dogs are not competent upon shore matters, he must be equally ignorant of any thing connected with our profession; and I therefore consider it a piece of unpardonable presumption on the part of a *land lubber* like him to offer any opinion on the subject.

The Reviewer, whoever it may be, has proved himself wholly incompetent to his task; he has attacked, but has yet to learn the art of parrying; as has been proved by his laying himself so open. His blows have been stopped, and, without giving, he has received severe punishment. I am

the more surprised at this, as I really considered that there was a certain tact in the *Edinburgh Review*, which enabled it to know where to direct the blow, so as to make it tell; a species of professional knowledge proper to executioners, reviewers, and cab-drivers, and which may be summed up in the following axiom: "The great art of flogging is, to know where to find a bit of *raw*."

So little have I felt the castigation intended, that I have had some compunction in administering this discipline to the Reviewer in return. Surely the *Edinburgh Review* can put a better head on, when it takes notice of this second portion of my work? I will give it an anecdote.

A lady of my acquaintance was blessed with a son, then about three years old. She was very indulgent, and he was very much spoiled. At last he became so unmanageable that she felt it was her imperative duty to correct him. She would as soon have cut off her right arm, but

that would not have mended the matter, nor the child. So one day, when the young gentleman had been more than usually uproarious, she pulled up his petticoats and administered what *she* considered a most severe infliction. Having so done, with a palpitating heart she sat down to recover herself, miserable that she had been compelled to punish, but attempting to console herself with the reflection that she had done her duty. What then was her surprise to have her reveries interrupted by the young urchin, who (appearing only to have been *tickled*,) came up to her, and laying down his head on her lap, pulled up his coats, and cried, "More whipping, Ma; please, more whipping." So weak has been the wrist, whether it be feminine or not, that has applied the punishment, that I also feel inclined to exclaim with the child, "More whipping, (Miss Martineau?) please, more whipping."

The Reviewer has pronounced that "*no author is cleverer than his works.*" If no

author be cleverer than his works, it is equally certain that *no reviewer is cleverer than his review*. Does the Reviewer recollect the fable of the jackass who put on the lion's skin? Why did he not take warning from the fabled folly of his ancestor and *hold his tongue*? He might still have walked about and have been supposed to be a Reviewer.

He asserts that I am not capable of serious reflection : he is mistaken. I have seldom cut the leaves of the *Edinburgh*, having been satisfied with looking at its outside, and thinking how very appropriate its colours of *blue and yellow* were to the opinions which it advocates. But at times I have been more serious. I have communed with myself as it lay before me, and I have mentally exclaimed :—Here is a work written by men whom the Almighty has endowed with talents, and who will, if there be truth in Scripture, have to answer for the talents committed to their keeping.—yet these men, like madmen, throw about fire, and cry it is

only in sport; they uphold doctrines as pernicious as, unfortunately, they are popular; disseminate error under the most specious guise; wage war against the happiness of their fellow-creatures, unhinging society, breeding discontent, waving the banner of infidelity and rebellion, and inviting to anarchy and bloodshed. To such prostitution of talent to this work of the devil, they are stimulated by their pride and their desire of gain! And I have surmised that hereafter they *will have* their reward; but, remembering that we are forbid to judge, I have checked my thoughts as they have turned upon what might hereafter be the portion below of—an Edinburgh Reviewer.

APPENDIX.

*Discourse on the Evidences of the AMERICAN
INDIANS being the Descendants of the LOST
TRIBES OF ISRAEL.*

THOSE who study the Scriptures, either as a matter of duty or pleasure—who seek in them divine revelations, or search for the records of history, cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Jewish nation, at an early period, was divided into twelve tribes, and occupied their ancient heritage under geographical divisions, during the most splendid periods under the kingdoms of Judah and of Israel.

Their early history—the rise, progress, and downfall of the nation—the proud distinction of being the chosen people—their laws, government, and wars—their sovereigns, judges, and temples—their sufferings, dispersions, and the various prophecies concerning this ancient and extraordinary people, cannot be unknown to you all. For their history is

the foundation of religion, their vicissitudes the result of prophecy, their restoration the fulfilment of that great promise made to the Patriarch Abraham, almost I may say in the infancy of nature.

It is also known to you that the Jewish nation was finally overpowered, and nine and a half of the tribes were carried captives to Samaria; two and a half, to wit: Judah, Benjamin, and half Menassah, remained in Judea or in the transjordan cities.

The question before us for consideration is, what has become of the missing or dispersed tribes—to what quarter of the world did they direct their footsteps, and what are the evidences of their existence at this day?

An earthquake may shake and overturn the foundations of a city—the avalanche may overwhelm the hamlet—and the crater of a volcano may pour its lava over fertile plains and populous villages—but a whole nation cannot vanish from the sight of the world, without leaving some traces of its existence, some marks of habits and customs.

It is a singular fact that history is exceedingly confused, or rather, I may say, *dark*, respecting the ultimate dispersion of the tribes among the cities of the Medes. The last notice we have of them is from the second Book of Esdras, which runs thus:

“Whereas thou sawest another peaceable multitude: these are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea, whom Salmanazar, king of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, so they came unto another land.

“ They took this counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the *heathen*, and go into a further country wherein *never mankind dwelt*, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land (Assyria), and there was a great way to go, namely, a year and a half.”

Esdras, however, has been deemed apochryphal. Much has been said concerning the doubtful character of that writer. He wrote in the first century of the Christian church, and Tertullian, St. Erenus, Clemens Alexandrius, Pico di Mirandola, and many learned and pious men, had great confidence in his writings. Part of them have been adopted by Protestants, and all considered orthodox by Catholics. With all his old Jewish attachments to the prophecies and traditions, Esdras was nevertheless a convert to Christianity. He was not an inspired writer or a prophet, although he assumed to be one, and followed the course as well as the manner of Daniel. The Book of Esdras, however, is of great antiquity, and as an historical record is doubtless entitled to great respect.

The precise number which left Babylon and other cities, and took to the desert, cannot be accurately known; but they were exceedingly numerous, for the edict of Ashaserus, which decreed their destruction, embraced 127 provinces, and reached from Ethiopia to the Indies. Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the eleventh century through Persia, mentions that in some of the provinces, at the time of that decree, the Jews occupied forty cities, two

hundred boroughs, one hundred castles, which contained 300,000 people. I incline to the opinion that 300,000 of the tribes left Persia.

There is no doubt that, in the march from the Euphrates to the north-east coast of Asia, many of the tribes hesitated in pursuing the journey : some remained in Tartary, many went into China. Alvarez states in his History of China, that the Jews had been living in that kingdom for more than six hundred years. He might with great probability have said 1,600 years. He speaks of their being very numerous in some of the provinces, and having synagogues in many of the great cities, especially in that of Hinan and in its metropolis Kai-tong-fu, where he represents them to have a magnificent place of worship, and a repository for the Holy Volume, adorned with richly embroidered curtains, in which they preserve an ancient Hebrew manuscript roll.

They know but little of the Mosaic law, and only repeat the names of David, Abraham, Isaiah, and Jacob. In a Hebrew letter written by the Jews of Cochin-China to their brethren at Amsterdam, they give as the date of their retiring into India, the period when the Romans conquered the Holy Land.

It is clearly evident, therefore, that the tribes, in their progress to a new and undiscovered country, left many of their numbers in China and Tartary, and finally reached the Straits of Behring, where no difficulty prevented their crossing to the north-west coast of America, a distance less than thirty miles, interspersed with the Copper Islands, probably frozen over ; and reaching our continent, spread themselves in the course of two thousand years to Cape Horn,

the more hardy keeping to the north, to Labrador, Hudson's Bay, and Greenland ; the more cultivated fixing their residence in the beautiful climate and rich possessions of Central America, Mexico, and Peru.

But it may here be asked, could the scattered remnants of Israel have had the courage to penetrate through unknown regions, and encounter the hardships and privations of that inhospitable country ? Could they have had the fortitude, the decision, the power, to venture on a dreary pilgrimage of eighteen months, the time mentioned by Esdras as the period of their journey ? Could they not ? What obstacles had hitherto impeded their progress, that had broken down their energies, or impaired their constancy and fidelity ?

They knew that their brethren had severed the chains of Egyptian bondage ; had crossed in safety the arm of the Red Sea ; had sojourned for years in the wilderness ; had encamped near Mount Sinai, and had possessed themselves of the Holy Land.

They remembered the kingdoms of Judah and Israel in all their glory ; they had witnessed the erection and destruction of their Temple ; they had fought and conquered with the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. They had encountered sufferings upon sufferings unmoved ; had bowed their necks submissively to the yoke.

Kings, conquerors, nations, Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens, all had united in the design of destroying the nation ; but they never despaired ; they knew they were the elect and chosen of the

Lord. The oath, that He never would abandon his people, had been fulfilled 3,500 years, and, therefore, with the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, they abandoned the Heathens and the Persian territory, passed the confines of Tartary and China, and, no doubt, through great sufferings, reached the north-eastern coast of Asia, and came in sight of that continent, wherein, as they had reason to believe, "mankind never before had dwelt."

On the discovery of America by Columbus, and the discoveries subsequent to his time, various tribes of Indians or savages were found to inhabit this our continent, whose origin was unknown.

It is, perhaps, difficult for the human mind to decide on the character and condition of an extreme savage state. We can readily believe that children abandoned in infancy in a savage country, and surviving this abandonment, to grow up in a state of nature, living on herbs and fruits, and sustaining existence as other wild animals, would be stupid, without language, without intellect, and with no greater instinct than that which governs the brute creation. We can conceive nothing reduced to a more savage condition; with cannibal propensities, an ungovernable ferocity, or a timid apprehension, there can be but a link that separates them from other classes of animal creation. So with herds of men in a savage state, like herds of buffalo or wild horses on our prairies, they are kept together by sounds common amongst themselves, and are utterly unacquainted with the landmarks of civilization.

This, however, was not the condition of the Ame-

rican Indians when first discovered. They were a singular race of men, with enlarged views of life, religion, courage, constancy, humanity, policy, eloquence, love of their families ; with a proud and gallant bearing, fierce in war, and, like the ancients, relentless in victory. Their hospitality might be quoted as examples among the most liberal of the present day. These were not wild men—these were a different class from those found on the Sandwich and Feegee Islands. The red men of America, bearing as they do the strongest marks of Asiatic origin, have, for more than two thousand years (and divided as they are in upwards of three hundred different nations) been remarkable for their intellectual superiority, their bravery in war, their good faith in peace, and all the simplicity and virtues of their patriarchal fathers, until civilization, as it is called, had rendered them familiar with all the vices which distinguish the present era, without being able to enforce any of the virtues which are the boast of our present enlightened times.

It is, however, in the religious belief and ceremonies of the Indians that I propose showing some of the evidences of their being, as it is believed, the descendants of the dispersed tribes. The opinion is founded—

1st. In their belief in one God.

2d. In the computation of time by their ceremonies of the new moon.

3d. In their divisions of the year in four seasons, answering to the Jewish festivals of the feast of

flowers, the day of atonement, the feast of the tabernacle, and other religious holidays.

4th. In the erection of a temple after the manner of our temple, and having an ark of the covenant, and also the erection of altars.

5th. By the divisions of the nation into tribes, with a chief, or grand sachem at their head.

6th. By their laws of sacrifices, ablutions, marriages; ceremonies in war and peace, the prohibitions of eating certain things, fully carrying out the Mosaic institutions;—by their traditions, history, character, appearance, affinity of their language to the Hebrew, and finally, by that everlasting covenant of heirship exhibited in a perpetual transmission of its seal in their flesh.

If I shall be able to satisfy your doubts and curiosity on these points, you will certainly rejoice with me in discovering that the dispersed of the chosen people are not the lost ones—that the promises held out to them have been thus far realised, and that all the prophecies relative to their future destination will in due time be strictly fulfilled.

It has been the general impression, as before mentioned, that great resemblance existed between some of the religious rites of the Jews, and the peculiar ceremonies of the Indians; and the belief in one Great Spirit has tended to strengthen the impression; yet this mere resemblance only extended so far as to admit of the belief, that they possibly may have descended from the dispersed tribes, or may have been of Tartar or Malay origin.

It was, however, a vague and unsatisfactory suspicion, which, having no tangible evidence, has been rejected, or thrown aside as a mere supposition. All the missionaries and travellers among the Indian tribes since the discovery of America—Adair, Heckwelder, Charliveux, M'Kenzie, Bartram, Beltrami, Smith, Penn, Mrs. Simon, who has written a very interesting work on this subject, &c., have expressed opinions in favour of their being of Jewish origin—the difficulty, however, under which they all laboured was simply this; they were familiar with the religious rites, ceremonies, traditions, and belief of the Indians, but they were not sufficiently conversant with the Jewish rites and ceremonies to show the analogy. It is precisely this link in the chain of evidence that I propose to supply.

It has been said that the Indians, believing in one great Spirit and Fountain of Life, like the Jews, does not prove their descent from the missing tribes, because in a savage state their very ignorance and superstition lead them to confide in the works of some divine superior being. But savages are apt to be idolaters, and personate the deity by some carved figure or image to whom they pay their adoration, and not, like the Indians, having a clear and definite idea of one great Ruler of the universe, one great Spirit, whose attributes are as well known to them as to us. But if the continued unerring worship of one God like the Jews prove nothing, where did they acquire the same Hebrew name and appellation of that deity? If tradition had not handed down to them the ineffa-

ble name as also preserved by the Jews, how did they acquire it in a wilderness where the word of the Lord was never known?

Adair, in whom I repose great confidence, and who resided *forty* years among them, in his work published in 1775, says, "The ancient heathens worshipped a plurality of gods, but these Indians pay their devoirs to *Lo-ak* (Light) *Ish-ta-hoola-aba*, distinctly Hebrew, which means the great supreme beneficent holy Spirit of Fire who resides above."

"They are," says Adair, "utter strangers to all the gestures practised by the Pagans in their religious rites—they kiss no idols, nor would they kiss their hands in tokens of reverence or willing obedience."

"These tribes," says Adair, "so far from being Atheists, use the great and readful name of God, which describes his divine essence, and by which he manifested himself to Moses! and are firmly persuaded that they now live under the immediate government of the Almighty Ruler. Their appellative for God is *Isto-hoolo*, the Hebrew of *Esh-Eshys*, from *Ishto*, *Great*, but they have another appellative, which with them, as with us, is the mysterious essential name of God, which they never mention in common speech, and only when performing their most sacred religious rites, and then they most solemnly divide it in syllables, with intermediate words, so as not to pronounce the ineffable name at once."

Thus, in their sacred dances at their feast of the first-fruits, they sing *Aleluyah* and *Mesheha*, from the Hebrew of *Masheach*, Messiah, the anointed one.

“*Yo mesheha*,” “*He mesheha*,” “*Wah meshehah*,” thus making the *Alleluiah*, the *Mesiah*, the *Yehovah*.

Can we, for a moment, believe that these sacred well-known Hebrew words found their way by *accident* to the wilderness? Or can it be doubted that, like the fire of the burning bush, which never is extinguished, those words of religious adoration are the sacred relics of tradition, handed down to them from generation to generation? “In the same manner,” says Adair, “they sing on certain other religious celebrations, *ailyo ailyo*, which is the Hebrew *el* for God, by his attribute of omnipotence. They likewise sing *hewah, hewah*, He chyra, the “immortal soul.” Those words sung at their religious rejoicings are never uttered at any other time, which must have occasioned the loss of their divine hymns. They on some occasions sing *Shilu yo—Shilu he—Shilu wah*. The three terminations make up in their order the four lettered divine name in Hebrew. *Shilu* is evidently *Shaleach*, *Shiloth*, the messenger, “the peace maker.”

The number of Hebrew words used in their religious services is incredible; thus, in chiding any one for levity during a solemn worship, they say, *Che hakeet Kana*, “you resemble those reproved in Canaan,” and, to convey the idea of criminality, they say *Hackset Canaha*, “the sinners of Canaan.” They call lightning *eloah*, and the rumbling of thunder *rowah*, from the Hebrew *ruach*, “spirit.”

Like the Israelites, they divide the year into four seasons, with the same festivals; they calculate by

moons, and celebrate, as the Jews do, the *berachah halebana*, the blessing for the new moon.

The Indians have their prophets and high-priests, the same as the Jews had; not hastily selected, but chosen with caution from the most wise and discreet, and they ordain their high-priests by anointing and have a most holy place in their sanctuaries, like the Holy of Holies in the temple. The archimagus, or high-priest, wears, in resemblance to the ancient breast-plate, a white conch-shell ornamented so as to resemble the precious stones on the *Urim*, and instead of the golden plate worn by the Levite on his forehead, bearing the inscription *Kodish Ladonaye*, the Indian binds his brows with a wreath of swan's feathers, and wears a tuft of white feathers, which he calls *Yatira*.

The Indians have their ark, which they invariably carry with them to battle, well guarded. In speaking of the Indian places of refuge, Adair says, "I observed that if a captive taken, by the reputed power of the holy things of their ark, should be able to make his escape into one of these towns, or even into the winter house of the *Archimagus*, he is delivered from the fiery torture, otherwise inevitable. This, when taken in connection with the many other faint images of Mosaic customs, seems to point at the mercy-seat of the sanctuary. It is also worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground. On hilly ground, where large stones are plenty, they rest it thereon, but on level prairies, upon short logs, where they also seat themselves. And when we consider," continues Adair, "in what a surprising man-

ner the Indians copy after the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, and their strict purity in the war camps ; that *opae*, "the leader," obliges all during the first campaign which they have made with the beloved ark, to stand every day, they are not engaged in warfare, from sunrise to sunset, and after a fatiguing day's march and scanty allowance, to drink warm water embittered with rattle-snake root very plentifully, in order to purification ; that they have also as strong a faith in the power of their ark as ever the Israelites had in theirs, ascribing the success of one party to their stricter adherence to the law, than the other, we have strong reason to conclude them of Hebrew origin. The Indians have an old tradition, that when they left their own native land, they brought with them a *sanctified rod*, by order of an oracle, which they fixed every evening in the ground, and were to remove from place to place on the continent, towards the sun rising, till it budded in one night's time. I have seen other Indians, says the same writer, who related the same thing. Instead of the miraculous direction to which they limit it, in their western banishment, it appears more likely that they refer to the ancient circumstance of the rod of Aaron, which, in order to check the murmur of those who conspired against him, was, in his favour, made to bud blossoms and yield almonds at one and the same time. It is a well attested fact, and is here corroborated by Adair, that in taking female captives, the Indians have often protected them, but never despoiled them of honour.

This statement of Adair, in relation to the ark, is

corroborated by several travellers. Major Long, a more recent traveller, in his expedition to the Rocky Mountains, says, in relation to the ark, "It is placed upon a stand, and is never suffered to touch the earth. No person dare open all the coverings. Tradition informs them that curiosity induced three different persons to examine the mysterious shell, who were immediately punished for their profanation by instant blindness." This is the Jewish punishment pronounced for looking on the holy of holies—even now for looking on the descendants of the high priest who alone have the privilege of blessing the people.

The most sacred fast day uniformly kept by the Jews is the day of atonement, usually falling in the month of September or early in October. This is deemed in every part of the world a most solemn fast, and great preparations are made for its celebration. It is in the nature of expiation of sin, of full confession, penitence, and prayer; and is preceded by ablution and preparation of morning prayer for some time.

It is a very sacred fast, which lasts from sunset on one day until the new moon is seen on the succeeding evening. It is not in the nature of a gloomy desponding penance, but rather a day of solemn rejoicing, of hope and confidence, and is respected by those most indifferent to all other festivals throughout the year.

Precisely such a fast, with similar motives, and nearly at the same period of the year, is kept by the Indian natives generally.

Adair, after stating the strict manner in which the Indians observe the revolutions of the moon, and describing the feast of the harvest, and the first offerings of the fruits, gives a long account of the preparations in putting their temple in proper order for the great day of atonement, which he fixes at the time when the corn is full-eared and ripe, generally in the latter end of September. He then proceeds :

“Now one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men whom the purity of their law admits, to come and enter the beloved square and observe the fast. He also exhorts the women and children, with those who have not been initiated in war, to keep apart according to the law.

“Four centinels are now placed one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first fruit-offering, and that of marriage, since the last year’s expiation. They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun ; and be they ever so hungry in the sacred interval, the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and disobedience so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it. They at the same time drink plentifully of a decoction of the button snake root, in order to vomit and cleanse their sinful bodies.”

“In the general fast, the children and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat, as soon as they are certain that the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude.

“ Now every thing is hushed. Nothing but silence all around. The great beloved man, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, but not so deep as to reach through it; he then sharpens another piece, and placing that in the hole, and both between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke—or by rubbing two pieces together for a quarter of an hour, he collects by friction the hidden fire, which they all consider as proceeding from the holy spirit of fire.

“ The great beloved man, or high priest, addresses the warriors and women; giving all the particular, positive injunctions and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law. He uses very sharp language to the women. He then addresses the whole multitude. He enumerates the crimes they have committed, great and small, and bids them look at the *holy fire* which has forgiven them. He presses on his audience, by the great motives of temporal good and the fear of temporal evil, the necessity of a careful observance of the ancient law, assuring them that the *holy fire* will enable their prophets, the rain makers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war leaders victory over their enemies. He then orders some of the fire to be laid down outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lay several miles apart.”

Mr. Bartram, who visited the southern Indians in

1778, gives an account of the same feast, but in another nation. He says, "that the feast of first-fruits is the principal festival. This seems to end the old and begin the new ecclesiastical year. It commences when their new crops are arrived to maturity. This is their most solemn celebration."

With respect to the sacrifices, we have had none since the destruction of the temple, but it was customary among the Jews, in the olden time, to sacrifice daily a part of a lamb. This ceremony is strictly observed by the Indians. The hunter, when leaving his wigwam for the chase, puts up a prayer that the great Spirit will aid his endeavours to procure food for his wife and children, and when he returns with the red deer, whatever may be the cravings of hunger, he allows none to taste until he has cut part of the flesh, which he throws in the fire as a sacrifice, accompanied with prayer. All travellers speak of this practice among the Indians, so clearly Hebrew in its origin.

The bathings, anointings, ablutions, in the coldest weather, are never neglected by the Indians, and, like the Jews of old, they anoint themselves with bear's oil.

The Mosaic prohibition of eating unclean animals, and their enumeration, are known to you all. It would be supposed that, amidst the uncertainty of an Indian life, all kinds of food would be equally acceptable. Not so: for, in strict conformity with the Mosaic law, they abstain from eating the blood of any animal, they abominate swine flesh, they do not eat fish without scales, the eel, the turtle or sea-

cow: and they deem many animals and birds to be impure. These facts are noticed by all writers, and particularly by Edwards in his History of the West-Indies. The latter able historian, in noticing the close analogy between the religious rites of the Jews and Indians, says, "that the striking conformity of the prejudices and customs of the Caribbee Indians, to the practices of the Jews, has not escaped the notice of such historians as Gamella, Du Tertre, and others;" and Edwards also states, that the Indians on the Oroonoke, punished their women caught in adultery, by stoning them to death before the assembly of the people.

Among the Mosaical laws is the obligation of one brother to marry his brother's widow, if he die without issue. Major Long says, "if the deceased has left a brother, he takes the widow to his lodge after a proper interval and considers her as his wife," This is also confirmed by Charleviux.

It would occupy a greater space of time than I can afford, to trace a similitude between all the Indian rites and religious ceremonies, and those of the Jewish nation. In their births, in their separation after the births of their children, in their daily prayers and sacrifices, in their festivals, in their burials, in the employment of mourners, and in their general belief, I see a close analogy and intimate connection, with all the ceremonies and laws which are observed by the Jewish people; making a due allowance for what has been lost, and misunderstood, in the course of upwards of 2,000 years.

A general belief exists among most travellers, that

the Indians are the descendants of the missing tribes.

Menassah Ben Israel wrote his celebrated treatise to prove this fact, on the discovery of America.

William Penn, who always acted righteously towards the Indians, and had never suspected that they had descended from the missing tribes, says, in a letter to his friends in England, "I found them with like countenances to the Hebrew race. I consider these people under a dark night, yet they believe in God and immortality, without the aid of metaphysics. They reckon by moons, they offer their first ripe fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles, they are said to lay their altars with twelve stones, they mourn a year, and observe the Mosaic law with regard to separation."

Emanuel de Moraez, in his history of Brazil, declares that America has been peopled by the Carthaginians and Israelites, and as to the Israelites he says, nothing is wanting but circumcision, to constitute a perfect resemblance between them and the Brazilians.

The Rev. Mr. Beatty, a very worthy missionary, says, "I have often before hinted, that I have taken great pains to search into the usages and customs of the Indians, in order to see what ground there was for supposing them to be part of the ten tribes, and I must own, to my no small surprise, that a number of their customs appear so much to resemble those of the Jews, that it is a great question with me, whether we can expect to find among the ten tribes, wherever they are at this day, all things considered

more of the footsteps of their ancestors than among the different Indian tribes."

Monsieur de Guignes, an old French historian, in speaking of the discoveries made in America, before the time of Columbus, says, "These researches, which of themselves give us great insight into the origin of the Americans, lead to the determination of the route of the colonies sent to the continent ;" and he proceeds to give reasons for his belief, that the greater part of them passed thither "by the most eastern extremities of Asia, where the two continents are only separated by a narrow strait, easy to cross."

Beltrami, in his discovery of the sources of the Mississippi, after a full and interesting account of the Indians, says, "Different authors have brought them hither from all parts of the world. I was at first induced to join with those who derived them from the Hebrews. It seemed impossible for me to doubt that, by so doing, I should be building on an impregnable foundation." He then proceeds to prove their Asiatic origin by many interesting facts.

The late Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, published his travels in America, in 1801. "It is curious and pleasing," says he, "in reading the travels of those who have been among these people, to find how their customs comport with the laws of Moses ;" and after describing at length their religious rites and ceremonies, his lordship emphatically observes, "It is a sound truth, that the Indians *are* descended from the ten tribes ; and time and investigation will more and more enforce its acknowledgment."

It is, however, in Mexico and Peru, that we must

look for the most enlightened and the most wealthy of the Indian race. On the representations of Montesini, who travelled in South America, the learned Rabbi Menassah Ben Israel, as I have said before, wrote his famous work *La Esperanza de Israel*, which he published in Amsterdam, in 1650, endeavouring with great zeal to prove, that the Indians in North and South America were the descendants of the missing tribes; and Cromwell, to whom the work was dedicated, was greatly interested in the evidences produced on that occasion. Montesini, travelling through the province of *Quif*, found that his Indian guide was a Jew, and pursuing his inquiries, discovered that immense numbers lived behind the Cordilleras. Francis, the name of his guide, admitted to Montesini, that his God was called *Adonai*, and that he acknowledged Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as his ancestors, and they claimed to have descended from the tribe of Reuben.

Acosta contends that they have a tradition relative to the deluge; that they preserve the rite of circumcision; they offer the first-fruits, and in Peru they eat the Paschal Lamb; they believe in the resurrection, and clothe the dead with the richest equipage. Lopez de Gomara says, that some of them, and not all, are circumcised. Acosta continues, "the Mexicans point out the various stations as their ancestors advanced into their country, and it is precisely the route which they must have held, had they been emigrants from Asia."

Menassah Ben Israel declares, that the Indians of Mexico had a tradition, that their magnificent place

of worship had been built by a people who wore their beards, and were more ancient than their Incas. In the Universal History of 1748, it is affirmed, that the Mexicans and other American Indians rend their garments, in order the more effectually to express grief—the Hebrew custom at this day.

Lopez de Gomara states, that the Mexicans offer sacrifices of the first-fruits, and, when Cortez approached Mexico, Montezuma shut himself up for the space of eight days in fasting and prayer. Emanuel de Moreas and Acosta say, that the Brazilians marry in their own tribes and families; and Escorbatus affirms, that he frequently heard the southern tribes repeat the sacred notes *Ha-le-lu-yah*. Malvenda states, that several tomb-stones were found in St. Michael's, with ancient Hebrew characters.

When the Spaniards invaded Mexico, the Cholula was considered a holy city by the natives, with magnificent temples, in which the High Priest Quetzalcott preached to man, and would permit no other offerings to the Master of Life than the first-fruits of the harvest. "We know by our traditions," said the venerable Prince Montezuma to the Spanish General Cortez, that we who inhabit this country are not the natives but strangers who come from a great distance."

Don Alonzo Erecella, in his history of Chili, says, the Araucanians acknowledge one Supreme Being, and believe in the immortality of the soul; and the Abbé Clavigero declares, that they have a tradition of the great deluge. The laws and ceremonies of the Peruvians and Mexicans have, no doubt, been

corrupted in the course of many ages, both in their sacrifices and worship.

Their great and magnificent temple, evidently in imitation of that erected by Solomon, was founded by Mango Capac, or rather by the Inca Yupanque, who endowed it with great wealth. Clavagero and De Vega, in their very interesting account of this temple say, " what we called the altar was on the east side of the temple. There were many doors to the temple, all of which were plated with gold, and the four walls the whole way round were crowned with a rich golden garland, more than an ell in width. Round the temple were five square pavilions, whose tops were in the form of pyramids. The fifth was lined entirely with gold, and was for the use of the Royal High-Priest of sacrifices, and in which all the deliberations concerning the temple were held. Some of the doors led to the schools where the Incas listen to the debates of the philosophers, sometimes themselves explaining the laws and ordinances."

Mexico and Central America abound in curiosities, exemplifying the fact of the Asiatic origin of the inhabitants; and it is not many years ago, that the ruins of a whole city, with a wall nearly seven miles in circumference, with castles, palaces, and temples, evidently of Hebrew or Phœnician architecture, was found on the river Palenque. The thirty-fifth number of the Foreign Quarterly Review contains an interesting account of those antiquities.

The ruins of this city of Guatemala, in Central America, as described by Del Rio in 1782, when

taken in conjunction with the extraordinary, I may say, wonderful antiquities spread over the entire surface of that country, awaken recollections in the specimens of architecture which carry us back to the early pages of history, and prove beyond the shadow of doubt, that we who imagined ourselves to be the natives of a new world, but recently discovered, inhabit a continent which rivalled the splendour of Egypt and Syria, and was peopled by a powerful and highly cultivated nation from the old world. When we speak of what is called Mexican antiquities, we must not confound the rude labours of modern times, with the splendid perfections which distinguished the efforts of those who reared the Egyptian pyramids, and built the temples of Thebes and Memphis. It is not Mexican antiquities, but the antiquities of Tultecan; and in addition to the ruins of Palenque, on this *our* continent, there are pyramids larger than those of Sachara in Egypt, at Cholula, Otamba, Paxaca, Mitlan, Tlascala, and on the mountains of Tescoca, together with hieroglyphics, planispheres and zodiacs, a symbolic and Photenic alphabet; papyrus, metopes, triglyphs, and temples and buildings of immense grandeur; military roads, aqueducts, viaducts, posting stations and distances; bridges of great grandeur and massive character, all presenting the most positive evidences of the existence of a powerful enterprizing nation, which must have flourished two thousand years before the Spanish conquest. Take, for example, the description of the temple at Palenque, which Lord Kingsborough, in his travels, not only declares *was* built by the

Jews, and is a copy of Solomon's temple, but which, no doubt, is precisely the model of the temple described by Ezekiel. Travellers speak of it in the following terms :

“ It may be appropriately called an ecclesiastical city, rather than a temple. Within its vast precincts there appear to be contained (as indeed was, in some measure, the case with the area that embraced the various buildings of Solomon's temple) a pyramidal tower, various sanctuaries, sepulchres ; a small and a large quadrangular court, one surrounded, as we have said, by cloisters ; subterranean initiatory galleries beneath ; oracles, courts of justice, high places, and cells or dwellings for the various orders of priests. The whole combination of the buildings is encircled by a quadrilateral pilastered portico, embracing a quadrangular area, and resting on a terraced platform. This platform exhibits the same architectural model, which we have described as characterizing the single temples. It is composed of three graduated stuccoed terraces, sloping inwards, at an angle of about seventy degrees, in the form of a truncated pyramid. Four central staircases (one facing each of the cardinal points) ascend these terraces in the middle of each lateral façade of the quadrangle ; and four gates fronting the same cardinal points, conduct from the top of each staircase into the body of the building, or into the great court. The great entrance, through a pilastered gateway, fronts the east, and descends by a second flight of steps into the cloistered court. On the various pilasters of the upper terrace are the me-

topes, with singular sculptures. On descending the second staircase into the cloistered court, on one side, appears the triple pyramidal tower, which may be inferred, from the curious distribution of little cells which surround the central room of each story, to have been employed as a place of royal or private sepulture. It would be pronounced a striking and tasteful structure, according to any architectural rule. On another side of the same cloistered court is the detached temple of the chief god, to whom the whole religious building appears to have been devoted, who appears to have been the great and only god of the nations who worshipped in this temple. Beneath the cloisters, entered by staircases from above, are what we believe to be the initiatory galleries. These opened into rooms, one of which has a stone couch in it, and others are distinguished by unintelligible apparatus carved in stone. The only symbol described as found within these sacred haunts is, however, perfectly Asiatic, and perfectly intelligible ; we mean two contending serpents. The remnant of an altar, or high place, occupies the centre of the cloistered quadrangle. The rest of the edifice is taken up with courts, palaces, detached temples, open divans, baths, and streets of priestly cells, or houses, in a greater or less degree of dilapidation." * * *

" It is perfectly clear, from the few records of their religious rites which have come down to us, and which are principally derived from the extraordinary rolls of American papyrus,* on which their beautiful

* Formed of prepared fibres of the Maguery.

hieroglyphical system is preserved (there is one of considerable extent in the Dresden Museum), that they were as simple, perhaps we may add with propriety, as innocent. Not only does it appear that they had no human sacrifices, but no animal sacrifices. Flowers and fruits were the only offerings made to the presiding divinity of their temples."

But who were the Tultequans and Azeteques, the founders of this empire in America; who built the pyramids of Cholula and city of Palenque? *Not the Jews.*

Here we have a most singular diversion from the path on which we originally set out—another extraordinary discovery, marked, too, by events no less extraordinary than amazing.

They were the Canaanites, the scriptural Titans, who, according to the sacred historian, built with walls and towers reaching to the heavens. The builders of the Tower of Babel, the family of the shepherd kings who conquered Egypt, and built the pyramids, and were driven from Syria by Joshua. The men who finally founded Tyre and Carthage, navigated round the continent of Africa, and sailed in their small craft across the Atlantic, and landed in the Gulf of Mexico.

The *Phœnicians* were the founders of Palenque, Mitlan, Papantla, Quemada, Cholula, Chila, and Antiquerra.

When I studied the history of these people, on the ruins of Carthage, it was said by antiquarians present, that the Carthaginians had a colony at a considerable distance, which they secretly maintained;

and when I was at Tangiers, the Mauritania Tangitania of the ancients, I was shown the spot where the pillar was erected, and was standing at the time of Ibnu, the Moorish historian, on which was inscribed, in the Phœnician language, "We are the Canaanites who fled from Joshua, the son of Nun, that notorious robber." From that spot, then . . . the pillars of Hercules, now known as the Straits of Gibraltar, they crossed to our continent, and founded a great empire of the Ophite worship, with Syrian and Egyptian symbols. Now, mark the issue. Fifteen hundred years after the expulsion of the Canaanites by Joshua, the ten tribes pass over the Straits of Behring to the continent of America, and poured down upon these people like the Goths and Vandals. The descendants of Joshua a *second* time fell on the Canaanites on another continent, knowing them well as such, and burn their temples, and destroy their gigantic towers and cities.

When Columbus discovered America, he found an innocent people in a demi-savage state, with Jewish traditions, and the only reference to early times was a vague impression that the ruins they saw were built by giants, and a people called wandering masons.

I have the most settled conviction of this theory. The magnificent ruins which are to be seen at this day in Mexico and Central America, were the works of the Phœnicians, and the irruption of the wandering tribes from the north-west coast of America swept that nation away, and have ever since maintained possession of this country, until white men have

thinned their ranks, and gradually encroached upon, and usurped a great part of their territory.

The only opposition made to the general declaration of travellers, that the Indians are of Jewish descent, is, that they are red men, and are beardless. Now, take the olive complexion of the Jews in Syria, pass the nation over the Euphrates into a warmer climate, let them mingle with Tartars and Chinese, and after several generations reach this continent, their complexion would undergo some shades of hue and colour; and as to beards, they cannot grow while they are continually plucked, as is the Indian custom. The colour proves nothing against their origin. Take our fellow-citizens on our eastern borders, and compare their florid colour with the sickly hue and sallow complexions of those living on the southern shores, in the palmettoes and everglades, and we shall see a marked distinction, and yet they are members of the same family.

Du Pratz, speaking of the traditions of the Natches tribe, relates that in answer to the question, "Whence come you?" their reply was, "All that we know is that our fathers, to come hither, followed the sun, and came from the place where he rises. They were long in their journey; they were nearly perishing; and were brought to this wilderness of the sun setting without seeking it." Souard says of the Indians of Surinam, on the authority of Nasci, a learned Jew residing there, that the dialect of those Indians common in Guinana is soft, agreeable, and regular, and their substantives are Hebrew. Their language, in the roots, idioms, and particular

construction, has the genius of the Hebrew language, as their orations have the bold, laconic, and figurative style of the Hebrew prophets."

The Rev. Mr. Chapman says of the Osages, "it is their universal practice to salute the dawn of every morning with their devotion." A custom always prevailing among pious Jews.

Malvenda and Acosta both affirm, that the natives had a tradition of a jubilee, according to the jubilee of Israel.

Dr. Beatty, in speaking of the festival of the first-fruits by the Indians west of the Ohio, says, "at this ceremony *twelve* of their old men divide a deer into twelve parts, and these men hold up the venison and fruits with their faces to the east, acknowledging the bounty of God to them. A singular and close imitation of the ceremonies and sacrifices of the temple." The doctor further says, "they have another feast which looks like the Passover."

Sir Alexander MacKenzie, in his tour to the north-west coast, says, that "the Chepewyan Indians have a tradition among them, that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake which was in one place narrow and shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery; and a further tradition has it that nine parts of their nation out of ten passed over the river. The Mexicans affirm, that seven tribes or houses passed from the east to the wilderness."

Beltrami says, that the skeletons of the mammoths found in Kentucky and Missouri, and other parts of

America, have been ascertained to resemble precisely those which have been found in Siberia and the eastern part of Asia, showing the facility of communication between the two coasts. And here it may be well to state a fact, which is strongly corroborative of the view we have taken, not only of the possibility of passing from one continent to the other, but of the actual and probably constant communication between them. Charlevoix, says, he knew a Catholic priest, called Father Grillon, in Canada, who was recalled to Paris after his mission had been ended, and who was subsequently appointed to a similar mission in China. One day in Tartary, he suddenly encountered a Huron woman with whom he had been well acquainted in Canada, and who informed him that she had been captured, and passed from nation to nation, until she reached the north-west coast, when she crossed into Tartary.

Since delivering the present lecture, I have received a letter from Mr. Catlin, the celebrated painter, who for the last five years has been residing among the Indians. Mr. Catlin says,

“The first thing that strikes the traveller in an Indian country as evidence of their being of Jewish origin, (and it is certainly a very forcible one,) is the striking resemblance which they generally bear in contour, and expression of head, to those people. In their modes and customs, there are many striking resemblances, and perhaps as proof, they go much further than mere personal resemblance. Amongst those customs, I shall mention several that have attracted my attention, though probably they have

never before been used for the same purpose ; and others I may name, which are familiar *to you*, and which it may not be amiss to mention, as I have seen them practised while in their country.

“ The universal custom among them of burying their dead with feet to the east, I could conceive to have no other meaning or object than a journey to the east after death—like the Jews who expected to travel under ground after death to the land of Canaan. On inquiry, I found that though they were all going towards the ‘ setting sun,’ during their life-times, they expected to travel to the east after death.

“ Amongst the tribes, the women are not allowed to enter the medicine lodge ; as they were not allowed in Judea to enter the court of Israel. Like the Jewish custom also, they are not allowed to mingle in worship with the men ; and at meals, are always separated.

“ In their modes, fastings, feastings, or sacrifices, they have also a most striking resemblance. Amongst all the western tribes, who have not been persuaded from those forms by white men, they are still found scrupulously and religiously adhering to, and practising them to the letter. The very many times and modes of sacrificing, remind us forcibly of the customs of the Israelites ; and the one in particular, which has been seen amongst several of the tribes, though I did not witness it myself, wherein, like the manner of the ‘ peace-offering,’ the firstling and that of the male is offered, and ‘ *no bone is to be broken.*’ Such circumstances afford the strongest

kind of proofs. All the tribes have a great feast at the dawn of spring, and at those feasts their various sacrifices are made. At the approach of the season of green corn, a feast of the first ears are sacrificed with great solemnity, followed by feasting and dancing: so at the ripening of different kinds of fruit. The first and best piece that is cut from a buffalo is always *Deo Dante*.

“Over the medicine lodge, and also over the lodges of the most distinguished chiefs, are hung on high poles large quantities of fine cloth, white buffalo robes, or other most costly articles which can be procured, there to decay, an offering to the Great Spirit.

“The bunch of willow boughs with which each dancer is supplied, in the Mandan religious ceremonies, the sacrificing and other forms therein observed, certainly render it somewhat analogous to the Israelitish feast of tabernacles.

“The universal practice of ‘*solus cum sola*’ of the women, ablution and anointing with bear’s grease, is strikingly similar to the Jewish custom. Every family has a small lodge expressly for this purpose, and when any one of the family are ready for it, it is erected within a few rods, and meat is carried to her, where she dwells, and cooks and eats by herself, an object of superstitious dread to every person in the village.

“The absence of every species of idolatry amongst the North American Indians, affords also a striking proof of the ceremonial law, and stamps them at

once, in one respect, at all events, differing from all other savage tribes of which we have any knowledge."

What are, I may ask, the characters of these people? On the discovery of America by Columbus, nearly 2,000 years after the dispersion of the Hebrew tribes, the whole continent is found peopled, not with a race of wild men, of cannibals, of savages, but with a race of intellectual, moral, innocent persons, divided into many hundred nations, and spread over 8,000 miles of territory. "I swear to your majesties," said Columbus, writing to Ferdinand and Isabella, "that there is not a better people in the world than these; more affectionate or mild. They love their neighbours as themselves; their language is the sweetest, the softest and the most cheerful, for they always speak smilingly." Major Long says, "they are the genuine sons of nature; they have all the virtues nature can give, without the vices of civilization. They are artless, fearless, and live in constant exercise of moral and Christian virtues, though they know it not."

Charlevoix gives his testimony in their behalf. "They manifest," says he, "much stability in their engagements, patience in affliction, and submissive acquiescence in what they apprehend the will of Providence. In all this they display a nobleness of soul and constancy of mind, at which *we* rarely arrive, with all our philosophy and religion."

Du Pratz contends that they have a greater degree of prudence, faithfulness, and generosity than those

who would be offended with a comparison with them. "No people," says he, "are more hospitable and free."

Bartram, who lived many years in the Creek nation, says, "Joy, contentment, love and friendship without guile or affectation, seem inherent in them, or predominant in their vital principle, for it leaves them but with their breath. They are," says he, "just, honest, liberal and hospitable to strangers; considerate and affectionate to their wives, children, and relations; frugal and persevering, charitable and forbearing."

Who are they? Men do not grow up like stones or trees or rocks; they are not found in herds like wild animals. God, that made man in his own image, gave to the Indians an origin and parentage, like unto the rest of the great family of mankind, the work of his own almighty hand. From whom, then, did our red brethren, the rightful owners of this continent, descend?

There seems to be no difference of opinion that they are of Asiatic origin, and not indigenous to our soil. Nearly all writers and historians concur on this point—they *are* Asiatic—they crossed to the continent of America from Asia; but who are they, and from whom have they descended?

Eldad, who wrote learnedly of the twelve tribes, in 1300, contends, that the tribe of Dan went into Ethiopia, and pretends that the tribes of Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, followed. That they had a king of their own, and could muster 120,000 horse and 100,000 foot. In relation to part of these three

tribes, there might have been some truth in it, for Tigleth Pelieser did compel them to go into Ethiopia. Issachar, he contends, remained with the Medes and Persians. Zebulon extended from the mountains of Pharan to the Euphrates. Reuben dwelt behind Pharan, and spoke Arabic. Ephraim and half Manasseh were thrown on the southern coast. Benjamin of Tudela places Dan, Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon on the banks of the river Gozan. In the midst of all these contradictory and vague statements, two opinions prevail among Jews and Christians, in early and late periods. One is, that the ten tribes went into Tartary, where they remained; the other, that from Tartary they penetrated into America.

Manasseh Ben Israel, the most learned of the nation, declares that they passed into America. Les-carbot believes that the Indians are the posterity of Ham, expelled by Joshua, and who passed out of the Mediterranean, and were driven by storms to the American coast. Grotius contends, that the inhabitants of the new world were originally from Greenland; and while Basnage frankly admits, that manifest tracts of Judaism are to be found in America, he contends, that the tribes could not have overcome the warlike Scythians and penetrated to this continent, and that they remained in Halak and Heber, and in the cities of the Medes.

Truth, no doubt, lies between these opinions. Many of the tribes passed into Egypt and Ethiopia, many remained in Persia and Tartary; all did not make for the north-west coast, nor was it necessary that all should do so. There were degrees of piety

and condition then as now. Restore Jerusalem tomorrow, and all the Jews will not return there. Rabbi Akiba contends, that all the noble families remained in Persia. A number, a considerable number, no doubt, impressed with a solemn belief that if they remained in Persia they would in time become idolators, and lose all the landmarks of their ancient faith, resolved, like those who went out of Egypt, to remain no longer in bondage, and, as Esdrass says, they departed for a country "wherein mankind never before had dwelt"—and the resolution was perfectly feasible. It was a thickly populated country, and by keeping on the borders of China, they would, within the time prescribed, namely, eighteen months, have reached our continent. At this day there is a constant intercourse between the continents, and a trip to the Rocky Mountains, once so terrifying, is now a mere summer's journey.

If the Indians of America are not the descendants of the missing tribes, again I ask, from whom *are* they descended? From the Egyptians? Wherein, in their belief, is there the least resemblance to the worship of Isis and Osiris, or the Hieroglyphics or historical reminiscences of that very ancient people? Are they a part of the fierce Scythians? Their war-like propensities would prove them to be so; but where among those barbarians do we discover the belief in one Great Spirit, together with the softer virtues, the purity and talents of the Indians? Are they of the Tartar race? Their complexion, "the shadowed livery of the burning sun," might be offered in evidence; they have not the flat head, the

angular and twinkling eye, nor the diminutive figure of the Chinese or Tartars.

The Indians have distinct Jewish features, and neither in mind, manners, nor religion, bear any affinity to the Tartar race. I have endeavoured to show this by their traditions, by their religion, by their ceremonies, which retain so much of the ancient worship. But there is one proof more, which, in my mind, removes all doubt. Sir Alexander MacKenzie, in his journal of a tour to the north-west continent of America, declares from his own observation, that the Chippewa Indians practise circumcision, which fact is corroborated by several other travellers amongst the various tribes.

It will scarcely be necessary for me to refer you to the many prophetic warnings relative to the sins, the denunciations, the promises, the dispersion and redemption of the Jewish people, which we find throughout the Bible. With that good book you all are or should be familiar—it is a delightful book, view it in any manner you please. Let the unbeliever sneer and the philosopher doubt, it is certain that the most important events predicted by the prophets *have* come to pass, giving an assurance which is stripped of all doubt, that what remains to be fulfilled, *will* be fulfilled. In what direction are we to look for the missing tribes according to the prophets? From Jeremiah we learn that they are to come from a country north and west from Judea. From Isaiah, “it is a country far from Judea,” and answering also “from the ends of the earth.”

In Zachariah we are told, it must be in the wes-

tern regions, or the country of the going down of the sun; and according to the historian, Esdras, it must be a land wherein mankind never before had dwelt, and, of course, free from the residence of the heathen.

Our prophet Isaiah has a noble reference to the dispersed tribes and their redemption, which may be here appropriately quoted. I use his language, the Hebrew, which from its peculiar associations should be always interesting to you.

והיה ביום ההוא יוסף ארני שנית ירו לקנור. את-שאר עמו
אשר-ישאר מאשור וממצרים ומפתרום ומכוש ומעילם
ומשנער ומחמת. ומאיי הים: ונשא נם לגוים ואקף נדחי
ישראל ותפצות יהודה יקבץ מארבע כנפות הארץ: והיתה
מסלה לשאר עמו אשר ישאר מאשור כאשר היתה לישראל
ביום עלתו מארץ מצרים:

“ And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand the *second* time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.

“ And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth.

“ And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, like as it was to Israel, in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.”

May I not with propriety refer, among other evidences, to the cruel persecutions which have uniformly been practised towards the Indians of this continent, not unlike those which the chosen people have suffered for the last eighteen centuries?

“What makes you so melancholy?” said General Knox to the chief of an Indian deputation, that he was entertaining in this city, at the close of the revolutionary war. “I’ll tell you, brother,” said the aged chief; “I have been looking at your beautiful city—the great water full of ships, the fine country, and see how prosperous you all are. But, then, I could not help thinking that this fine country *was ours*. Our ancestors lived here. They enjoyed it as their own in peace. *It was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and their children*. At last, white men came in a great canoe. They only asked to let them tie it to a tree, lest the water should carry it away. We consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land them, and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not go away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter. We granted it to them. They then asked corn to keep them from starving. We furnished it out of our own scanty supply. They promised to go away when the ice melted. When this happened, they, instead of going, pointed to the big guns round the wigwams, and said, ‘we shall stay here.’ Afterwards came more: they brought intoxicating drinks, of which the Indians became fond. They persuaded them to sell their land, and, finally,

have driven us back, from time to time, to the wilderness, far from the water, the fish, and the oysters. They have scared away our game—my people are wasting away. We live in the want of all things, while you are enjoying abundance in our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it.”

These persecutions and repeated acts of cruelty and injustice appear to have no termination—the work of destruction, commenced with the Narragansetts, will extend to the Ceminoles, and gradually to the blue waters of the Pacific. Look even now at the contest maintained by a handful of Indians in the everglades of Florida. Do they war against unequal numbers for a crown—for a part of that immense surplus which overflows from the coffers of a country which was once their own? No—they fight for the privilege of dying where the bones of their ancestors lie buried: and yet we, Christians as we call ourselves, deny them that boon, and drive the lords of the soil into the den of the otter.

In referring to the splendid specimens of Indian oratory, where, I would ask, can you find such wisdom, such lofty and pure eloquence, among the Chinese and Tartars, even at this day?

The Indians, like the Hebrews, speak in parables. Of their dialects, there is no doubt that the Algonquins and Huron are the parents of five hundred Indian tongues—they are copious, rich, regular, forcible, and comprehensive; and although here and there strong Hebrew analogies may be found, yet it

is reasonable to suppose, that the Indian languages are a compound of all those tongues belonging to the various Asiatic nations through which they passed during their pilgrimage.

Firmly as I believe the American Indian to have been descended from the tribes of Israel, and that our continent is full of the most extraordinary vestiges of antiquity, there is one point, a religious as well as an historical point, in which you may possibly continue to doubt, amidst almost convincing evidences.

If these are the remnants of the nine and a half tribes which were carried into Assyria, and if we are to believe in all the promises of the restoration, and the fulfilment of the prophecies, respecting the final advent of the Jewish nation, what is to become of these our red brethren, whom we are driving before us so rapidly, that a century more will find them lingering on the borders of the Pacific Ocean?

Possibly the restoration may be near enough to include even a portion of those interesting people. Our learned Rabbis have always deemed it sinful to compute the period of the restoration; they believe that when the sins of the nation were atoned for, the miracle of their redemption would be manifested. My faith does not rest wholly in miracles—Providence disposes of events, human agency must carry them out. That benign and supreme power which the children of Israel had never forsaken, has protected the chosen people amidst the most appalling dangers, has saved them from the uplifted sword of

the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, and while the most powerful nations of antiquity have crumbled to pieces, we have been preserved, united, and unbroken, the same now as we were in the days of the patriarchs—brought from darkness to light, from the early and rude periods of learning to the bright reality of civilization, of arts, of education and of science.

The Jewish people must now do something for themselves; they must move onward to the accomplishment of that great event long foretold—long promised—long expected; and when they DO move, that mighty power which has for thousands of years rebuked the proscription and intolerance shown to the Jews, by a benign protection of the *whole* nation, will still cover them with his invincible standard.

My belief is, that Syria will revert to the Jewish nation by *purchase*, and that the facility exhibited in the accumulation of wealth, has been a providential and peculiar gift to enable them, at a proper time, to re-occupy their ancient possessions by the purse-string instead of the sword.

We live in a remarkable age, and political events are producing extraordinary changes among the nations of the earth.

Russia, with its gigantic power, continues to press hard on Turkey. The Pacha of Egypt, taking advantage of the improvements and inventions of men of genius, is extending his territory and influence to the straits of Babelmandel on the Red Sea, and to

the borders of the Russian empire ; and the combined force of Russia, Turkey, Persia, and Egypt, seriously threaten the safety of British possessions in the East Indies. An immediate and balancing power is required to check this thirst of conquest and territorial possession, and to keep in check the advances of Russia in Turkey and Persia, and the ambition and love of conquest of Egypt. This can be done by restoring Syria to its rightful owners, not by revolution or blood, but as I have said, by the purchase of that territory from the Pacha of Egypt, for a sum of money too tempting in its amount for him to refuse, in the present reduced state of his coffers. Twelve or thirteen millions of dollars have been spoken of in reference to the cession of that interesting territory, a sum of no consideration to the Jews, for the good-will and peaceable possession of a land, which to them is above all price. Under the co-operation and protection of England and France, this re-occupation of Syria within its old territorial limits is at once reasonable and practicable.

By opening the ports of Damascus, Tripoli, Joppa, Acre, &c., the whole of the commerce of Turkey, Egypt, and the Mediterranean will be in the hands of those, who, even now in part, control the commerce of Europe. From the Danube, the Dneister, the Ukraine, Wallachia, and Moldavia, the best of agriculturists would revive the former fertility of Palestine. Manufacturers from Germany and Holland ; an army of experience and bravery from France and Italy ; ingenuity, intelligence, activity, energy,

and enterprize from all parts of the world, would, under a just, a tolerant, and a liberal government, present a formidable barrier to the encroachments of surrounding powers, and be a bulwark to the interests of England and France, as well as the rising liberties of Greece.

Once again unfurl the standard of Judah on Mount Zion, the four corners of the earth will give up the chosen people as the sea will give up its dead, at the sound of the last trumpet. Let the cry be 'Jerusalem,' as it was in the days of the Saracen and the lion-hearted Richard of England, and the rags and wretchedness which have for eighteen centuries enveloped the persons of the Jews, crushed as they were by persecution and injustice, will fall to the earth; and they will stand forth, the richest, the most powerful, the most intelligent nation on the face of the globe, with incalculable wealth, and holding in pledge the crowns and sceptres of kings. Placed in possession of their ancient heritage by and with the consent and co-operation of their Christian brethren, establishing a government of peace and good-will on earth, it may then be said, behold the fulfilment of prediction and prophecy: behold the chosen and favoured people of Almighty God, who, in defence of his unity and omnipotence, have been the outcast and proscribed of all nations, and who, for thousands of years, have patiently endured the severest of human sufferings, in the hope of that great advent of which they never have despaired;—and then, when taking their rank once more among the

nations of the earth, with the good wishes and affectionate regards of the great family of mankind, they may by their tolerance, their good faith, their charity, and enlarged liberal views, merit what has been said in their behalf by inspired writers, "Blessed are they who bless Israel."

THE END.

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